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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Lukanov Addresses Nation on Reform 25 Nov

AU2711161690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Text of statement by Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov on Bulgarian Television in Sofia on 25 November]

[Text] Dear fellow countrymen:

Today I would like to address you in connection with the situation in the country. Many people are asking themselves, and with good reason, what the next week will bring; where our country is going; how the increasing social and political crisis will end; whether the crisis will be resolved in a democratic way; and whether it will bring us closer toward civilized Europe, or will push us backwards, toward the civil enmity which has continued in Bulgaria for more than seven decades, and toward economic chaos.

Last week began for us with great hope, springing from the Paris conference, from the first large-scale multilateral treaty on disarmament in Europe, and from the signing of the Paris charter for a new Europe. The week ended with dramatic, unpleasant, but extremely important debates in the Grand National Assembly. The government received a vote of confidence. Evidently, this was not to everyone's liking. In a parliamentary democracy, it is normal for the government not to please everyone and for it to be criticized. However, it is abnormal, and even dangerous, when forceful, undemocratic means are applied to impose one's own decision upon society, one's own monopoly over the nation's political life.

I would like to state without exaggeration that the next week is a decisive one in the history of the democratic process in Bulgaria since 10 November 1989. The authority of parliament and the strength of the new democratic institutions and structures have been put to the test, as well as the relative stability of the economy, and hence its ability to provide for the population's basic needs and the vital functions of society. Civil peace and our country's peaceful transition to democracy have been put to the test.

Those who are dissatisfied with the place in society allotted to them by the democratic process are now resorting to such an extreme measure as a general political strike. It is true that the organizers of the general strike, the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation, after their initial declarations, which were of a purely political nature, are now asserting that the strike is not a political one, and that the only issue with which it is concerned is a change of government. Of course, the change of government is in itself a political issue. When the chief prosecutor of the Republic contested the absurd thesis put forward by the organizers that the government is practically the sole and universal employer in this country, and declared that political strikes are not permissible under the laws of the country, and in particular under the Law on Settling Labor Disputes, only this afternoon, on 25 November, that is, six days after the declaration of the general strike, and on its very eve, the organizers of this strike are attempting to give it the appearance of an action in defense of the workers' labor, social security, and other interests. This has not only come extremely late, in order to conceal the political nature of the declared strike, but also places the organizers in an indefensible position from the viewpoint of the requirements of the Law on Labor Disputes, since the declaration of a strike must be obligatorily preceded by preliminary procedures, the aim of which is to exhaust all other possibilities between the employers and the workers. As the government has already stated, it is ready to assist in organizing talks with everyone on all issues, but not under pressure, and fully taking into consideration the real possibilities and principles of the economic reform.

It is hardly necessary to stress that a strike, even if it broke out in individual locations and at individual enterprises, would have serious negative consequences for all Bulgarian citizens, for the following reasons:

First, because it would deal an additional blow to our already tottering economy. The good Lord will not fill the stores, but the strike will empty them all the more.

Second, because it would introduce further tension into the social atmosphere, which has already been heated to the explosion point.

Third, because it would shake the confidence, which has already sunk to almost to zero, of the outside world in Bulgaria and its ability to put its own house in order, to be a stable and reliable partner, and to bring to a conclusion the peaceful process of political and economic reforms which has begun successfully. The responsibility for the consequences will be carried not by the government, but by those who are breaking Bulgarian laws.

I would like to say that not all the trade union organizations in our country have such a frivolous view of the issues on which the fate of the people and democracy in Bulgaria depend. Without wholly agreeing with the positions recently adopted by the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, I assess the confederation's refusal to support the political strike as an expression of responsibility and concern for the real interests of working people.

Today thousands of people are voicing their concern over the consequences of a general strike. I would like to assure all Bulgarian citizens that the government has adopted the necessary measures allowed by the laws of the country to prevent breaches of public order, ensure transportation services in the large towns, and guarantee the stocking of stores, and the operation of ambulance and other basic services. Special measures are being taken to ensure the normal functioning of the main transportation junctions and routes, power plants, communications and other facilities, and activities which are of vital importance for the normal functioning of society.

I would like to make a special appeal to the mass media, and particularly to those working in the state information institutions. It is their basic professional and civic duty to do everything possible not only to fully and objectively inform society, but also to create an atmosphere of tolerance and respect toward the laws and democracy. I want to declare clearly and categorically that one cannot permit the national information institutions to be used to advertise protest actions which the competent organs of the Republic, in this case the chief prosecutor, have defined as contravening the law.

In a period of heightened tension, special measures within the framework of the law are necessary and unavoidable, but this is not the main point. The situation in the country will not begin to improve unless we continue the reforms, especially the economic reforms, without losing even a single day. The government has set out its own practical intentions in its program and the schedule for implementing immediate measures in the economic and social fields during the first 100 days. They were widely and critically discussed by society, as well as in parliament. Today there is no longer any doubt that the program enjoys the necessary international support. The government will continue to implement the planned measures consistently and with determination, and once again appeals to all of you, irrespective of your party sympathies, age, or profession, to give your support to the government program and to express this support by all possible democratic means. I cannot promise you that times will be easy. Nonetheless, I want to state that this is the only way to cure our seriously sick economy and to obtain the support of those who can and are ready to support us, if they see that we have gotten down to work and know clearly where we are going.

Many people say that this task is beyond the powers of a single-party government. You are well aware that both before and after the elections I always said, and continue to hold this view even now, that under the present conditions a single-party government is not the best alternative for Bulgaria. However, this does not mean that the present government should watch impassively as the economy declines, and sit waiting with its arms folded for the political forces to finally find the magic formula which will enable them to work in harmony for the good of Bulgaria, without losing their own identity or disclaiming the differences existing between them. I would very much like this formula to be found as soon as possible, even during the coming week. Until this happens, the government will continue to act without hesitation or looking around. Support the government through your labor, your criticism, your ideas, your enterprise, and your refusal to follow the reckless adventurers who in the name of power are ready to launch Bulgaria once again along the fatal path of civil conflict and self-destruction.

I wish you all a peaceful and fruitful week. Despite the trepidation which we are experiencing at present, may the next week bring good news for Bulgaria.

General Strikes Continue Across Nation 27 Nov

AU2711125490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] After the first day of the strike yesterday, the situation in Ruse is relatively more peaceful, according to our correspondent Stefanov. By 1000 this morning there were reliable reports on the actions of 60 percent of the workers in the Teksmash Plant; about 34 drivers, sellers, and lifttruck operators in the soft drink factory; and about 15 percent of the employees in the Mashproekt enterprises are on strike. The exact number of the strikers in the Vita and in the steel-concrete pipes factory is still unknown.

In the enterprise for heavy transporation vehicles, the drivers and mechanics who are members of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation have switched from actual to token strikes.

Half of the workers and employees from the Engineering Automation Institute and 80 people from the Investment Machine Building plant are supporting the strike in similar ways.

Rositsa Spasova told us what was happening in Burgas:

Today the petrochemical workers who are Podkrepa members conducted two-hour strikes by blocking the five exits of the petrochemical plant and preventing the petrochemical goods from being dispatched. In addition to this, numerous vehicles crowded in front of the plant's gates.

The Podkrepa members in the petrochemical plant sent a declaration to the Grand National Assembly and the government, in which they insist that attention should at last be devoted to the workers' justified demands which were submitted in a petitition to the Grand National Assembly as early as in July 1990. They first demand that oil supplies be guaranteed which would revive our economy. The declaration recalls two more demands, namely an increase of pensions for petrochemical workers and dispatching an independent financial commission to investigate abuses in the petrochemical plant. If today's protest remains unanswered by the government, the workers are resolved to have recourse to an extreme measure, namely to bring the installations to a standstill, Ivan Naydenov, chairman of the strike committee stated.

From Yambol we received the following report from correspondent Lyubomir (?Tetev): While 17 trade unions belonging to the Podkrepa Labor Confederation joined the strike yesterday, their number increased to 19 today, but the number of strikers is not very large. According to the information of the Podkrepa Regional Strike Committee in Lovech and according to the investigation of reporter Vaska Khristova, 300 workers from the (?Nora) enterprise are on strike today and the same applies to the entire collective of the company's local branch in the village of Bulgarski Izvor.

The strikers represent 25 percent of the labor collective from the Lovech plant producing children's and infant knitwear. In the housing construction enterprise only 51 workers out of 190 are working today. The health workers from the Second Workers Polyclinic are on a half-day strike today. Our correspondent Khristova points out that half of the 43 workers on strike are Podkrepa members and the other half members of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions.

In Dimitrovgrad 80 workers from the central repair workshop of the "Miner" mine attached to the MARBAS Combine are on strike today, as our correspondent Vladimir Delchev reports. In the Maritsa-3 Thermoelectric Power Station 18 workers are on token strike. On actual strike are 58 mining builders of the "Zdrave" mine. In the Dimitrovgrad hospital a half-day strike was declared by 70 medical workers to prevent health services from being totally interrupted. They were joined by 30 health workers from the local military-epidemiological center in Dimitrovgrad. There are 19 teachers on strike, as our correspondent Vladimir Delchev reports.

The appeal of Podkrepa for a nationwide general strike did not find many supporters among the population of the Pirin area, our correspondent Boris Markov says.

Working people in the Gotse Delchev and Sandanski municipalities are not on strike. Only part of the miners in the [name indistinct] mine are on actual strike in the neighbor villages. Only 10 to 15 percent of the workers are participating in strike actions organized by three enterprises in the Blagoevgrad Municipality. In the Petrich area transportation workers and some teachers are on token strike. Some Podkrepa supporters in the "Dilyana" Plant and in the ELPROM plant are also on strike. The functioning of public transportation, industry, agriculture, and the work in the economic and services branches is proceeding at normal pace, Boris Markov asserts in reporting from the Pirin area.

Podkrepa's Ivanov on Strike's Extent

AU2711133290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Interview with Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by Petur Donchev in Sofia—live]

[Text] My interviewee is Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, who is here with me in our mobile unit. Mr. Ivanov, what do you have to say at this hour?

[Ivanov] Greetings to announcers and reporters, greetings to all free citizens of Bulgaria. Here is information from the National Strike Committee on the situation countrywide:

The Podkrepa Labor Confederation has 47 installations which are on strike. The total number of miners on strike amounts to 5,660. A total of 5,309 of them are on actual strike, while 356 are on a token strike. One single installation, namely the Elatsite enterprise in Etropole composed of 76 people, is on a token strike.

In Shumen we have a report from the Bulgarplod enterprise about 145 workers out of 600 being on strike. From Pernik we have a report about the "Georgi Dimitrov" mine where 267 miners are on strike and about the [name indistinct] mine where 65 miners are on strike. From Smolyan the Vuzkhod Labor Management enterprise reports about 100 workers on strike. We also have a report from Plovdiv. The Plovdiv energy workers have submitted a declaration to us, saying that they are annoucing a 24-hour strike readiness action and that they are ready to switch to actual strike actions, such as shutting off the electric supply of entire large, industrial enterprises in favor of the private consumers. Similar information has reached us from Varna where the entire collective of the Thermoelectric Power Plant is ready to strike.

[Donchev] Mr. Ivanov, what is your information on the transport situation, considering that this is a vitally imporant question, I would like to say that what we heard from the Sofia Internal Affairs Directorate about obstructing buses and stopping vehicles at the crossings. These are no trade actions, but I would like to hear it from you.

[Ivanov] I can say that our communications with our strike committees are reliable and it appears from them that they are strictly following our strike instructions which are known all over the country and have been announced through the mass media. I can say in connection with the transportation situation, that the Second Streetcar Depot is on strike in Sofia today, but street cars from the Third Depot are functiong and are covering the same lines, 18 cars from the Third Depot are covering the services of the Second Depot. Our listeners may be interested in the trade services situation.

[Donchev] What do you say about the fact that that one food supply company is on strike and no foodstuffs can be dispatched, since yesterday it was announced—in our live relay from the headquarters of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation—that food supply would remain normal and not be disturbed?

[Ivanov] Under these circumstances, after the token actions which were adopted by the personnel of the [?Upiay] Company, cars were dispatched from [word indistinct] in charge of transporting the goods. In this condition the whole personnel of [?Upiya] is on effective strike. I would like to tell you that in the Sofia domestic trade branch alone 21,468 workers are on strike and 502 workers are on a token strike, while in the sector of foreign trade there are 80 employees on strike and 20 on a token strike. In Sofia, the total number of striking workers in the services sector is 2,430. There are 500

workers on a token strike. In the tourist sector there are 100 employees on strike and 193 employees on a token strike.

[Donchev] Thank you, for the time being, for this interview.

Strikes Called Off in Razgrad

AU2711134090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Ivo Kharizanov report from Razgrad]

[Text] As of today, all strikes are called off in Razgrad, and the normal functioning of public transportation has been restored. For the supporters of the so-called Razgrad Bulgarian Republic, it is already high time to analyze their actions and to assess last night's meeting with the political forces and the state power organs which lasted three hours and was attended by Vice President Semerdzhiev.

The republicans are reflecting on their initially adopted declaration on the basis of which they proclaimed the power of the strike committees, without, however, disrupting public order. They earned the wrath of the political forces and of many of their supporters; therefore they are making serious corrections to their initial stands.

We cannot deny that civil disobedience in Razgrad has its serious motivations. The of 15 January 1990 declaration on the nationality issue, which was confirmed by the Grand National Assembly and which was supported by full sociopolitical consensus aimed at settling this crucial problem for our country, was not implemented. We can really speak of inaction, or of inconsistent actions at least, and everyone had to admit this fact.

Therefore, the republic remains an expression of civil protest, a symbolic action aimed at attracting the attention of the legislative power in Bulgaria.

Independent TU Spokesman Interviewed

AU2711140690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Interview with Stoyan Nikolov, spokesman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, by Petur Donchev in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Donchev] The situation seems to be changing by the hour. Stoyan Nikolov, spokesman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, has invited us to talk. We are listening to you, Mr. Nikolov.

[Nikolov] I would like to make a small remark about a news program which was broadcast two hours ago and remind announcer [?Papakochev] that there are no independent trade unions in Bulgaria, just a Confederation of Independent Trade Unions.

[Announcer] Yes, excuse us, it is our mistake.

[Nikolov] Now I will tell you what is new. The campaign for signatures in support of a no-confidence vote to the Grand National Assembly organized by our confederation is proceeding successfully. Various reports continue to reach our headquarters about an increasing number of signatures collected over the country. Nevertheless, we are concerned about the increasing resistance of certain political forces against our confederation's initiative.

[Donchev] What do you mean in particular?

[Nikolov] We are receiving numerous tips from our coordinators in the provinces who inform us on specific actions, unfortunately we do not have enough time to describe them in detail. However, I think it is sufficient for everyone in our country to open today's issue of DUMA and to read the column on the left side of page two. In this connection I would like to ask the authors of these texts whether they as members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], or the BSP itself and its parliamentary group are that pleased with the current work of the Grand National Assembly.

[Donchev] Thank you, we will continue to report on all new developments.

Independent TU's Threaten To Strike

AU2811081590 Sofia BTA in English 2145 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—If no working government is formed by Monday [3 December], the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions will declare a strike, the confederation's leader Prof. Krustyu Petkov told a rally in Blagoevgrad.

The confederation did not support the general strike declared by the Podkrepa Labour Confederation but some of its members joined the protest. Now both major trade union associations in Bulgaria want the formation of a new cabinet.

Tear Gas Used To Clear Roadblocks

AU2711125090 Sofia BTA in English 1217 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—Today the police decisively intervened to clear several busy crossings in Sofia which met the dawn blocked by heavy freight trucks. The trucks, which are the property of state-run companies, were parked there at night. The cabins were locked. When the traffic police began to pull out the trucks, about 200 citizens booed the policemen and tried to prevent them from doing it. Reinforcement units came and the citizens were dispersed with truncheons and tear gas. A spokesman for the police has stated there are no injured or arrested.

At other crossings young people blocked the traffic of trolley buses, pulling down the trolley. Several people were arrested. They will have to pay fines of 200 leva each, or their driving licences will be taken.

The incidents hampered the operation of public transport vehicles in the capital, which are few anyway. The respective public transport lines were out of operation for more than two hours.

A small number of tramways, trolleys and military buses are servicing the other regular lines.

Since this morning the drivers of state-owned taxis and the drivers servicing the trade network have been also on strike.

Early this morning the students of Sofia University, who have been on strike for twenty days now, blocked for some minutes the streets near the university to give flowers and candles to the passers-by, calling on them to back up the students' demands.

According to a spokesman for the Podkrepa Labour Confederation 5,300 miners in 47 pits are on strike. There are not sufficient data about the course of the strike in the country. It is reported that the strike drive in the big cities of Plovdiv, Ruse, Burgas and Lovech is expanding.

SDS Sofia Rally Supports Strikes

AU2711160090 Sofia BTA in English 1546 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—Thousands of people flocked to a rally called here today by the councils of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) in support of the general strike declared yesterday by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

According to information quoted by the speakers, the Podkrepa strike is spreading steadily.

Both the speakers and their audience demanded the immediate resignation of the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov. The thousands of protesters chanted, "It will be the same daily until the resignation!"

A storm of applause greeted the insistence by the SDS Coordinating Councils in Sofia that new parliamentary elections be called by the end of February 1991. The Sofia leadership of the united opposition calls on the president not to allow civil mobilization. They want the prosecutor general to charge the Prime Minister Mr. Lukanov in connection with his November 24 attempt to impose censorship on the mass media: on Saturday [24 November] Mr. Lukanov ordered the television, the radio and the BTA not to bring news about the strike.

"There are no radicals in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], the changes in Bulgaria can be effected by a parliament with a SDS majority," said Mr. Georgi Markov MP of the SDS. He supported the idea of parliamentary elections by March. Other speakers, too, spoke about the need of a new parliament.

Ministers Claim Decreasing Participation

AU2711165290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Nina Spasova report on interview with Council of Ministers adviser Danail Danailov and unidentified announcer in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Spasova] The security around the Council of Ministers building has been increased and the representatives of the law and order organs are more numerous than usual. So much for the situation we found here. Now, Danail Danailov, adviser to the Council of Ministers, will acquaint us with data about the strike, released by the government:

[Danailov] The information received by the Council of Ministers shows that the number of striking workers throughout the country has not increased. On the contrary, in some branches the number of strikers has decreased. For example, in the system of the Ministry of Transportation there were 4,600 strikers yesterday. Today their number is 4,300. In the sphere of services and trade their number has decreased from 1,900 to 1,500. The number of strikers in industry has also decreased. All this is a result of the talks between the employers and the trade union organizations.

Regardless of this, social tension has not abated. One notes that in addition to the strike activities, other activities are being organized outside the territory of the enterprises, which is a crude violation of public order.

The government is firmly determined to ensure the observance of the law and defend the legal rights of the citizens. We appeal to parents and teachers to prevent the participation of children and pupils in uncontrolled street events. We appeal to all citizens to seek solution of the disputed issues through civilized dialogue and legal means.

During these tense days and hours we thank all working people who honestly implement their labor and civil obligations.

[Announcer] Mr. Danailov, how do you explain the discrepancies in the information supplied by the Podkrepa Strike Committee on the one hand, and that provided by the government on the other?

[Danailov] Yesterday and today, as a matter of principle, there were discrepancies in the information.

[Announcer] Why?

[Danailov] Different data has been published and different interpretations of the Law on Settling Labor Disputes have been voiced. The information I provided has been supplied by the ministries and the people's councils. It has been verified. We have representatives in the companies and many enterprises, thus this is the information we have. In this case the information I provide has a general character.

[Announcer] Thank you very much.

Podkrepa Says Over 1 Million Striking

AU2711203190 Sofia BTA in English 2002 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—One million and ten thousand Bulgarians were on effective and token strike today, Mr. Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, told a news conference here today. He described the strike as "the work of the entire nation."

Four hundred and twelve businesses and 220,000 people took part in the strike in Sofia, according to Mr. Ivanov. The strike affected construction, health care, the power industry, public transport, the services sector and other areas. Strike actions have been taken in 80 towns around the country.

The Podkrepa vice president said that more than 9,000 miners have joined the strike. He accused Mr. Pencho Penev, minister of internal affairs, of making public untrue figures about the proportions of the strike. "Actually, Mr. Penev is doing us a good turn because after the figures he quoted on television the strike has grown," Mr. Ivanov said.

The trade union leader said that the workers at the Burgas Petrochemical Works, Bulgaria's principal fuel producer, struck for two hours today. Tomorrow the works will not operate throughout the day, Mr. Ivanov said.

Power engineers in the cities of Plovdiv and Varna, who are on a token strike for the time being, have declared their readiness to go ahead with an effective strike and switch the electricity supply from major industrial projects over to household consumers.

Mr. Ivanov said that numerous locals of the other principal trade union association, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB), have joined Podkrepa. He did not cite accurate figures as they are being consolidated.

A source from the KNSB, which does not support the general strike declared by Podkrepa, told the BTA that 300,000 people have so far signed the petition of no confidence in the Grand National Assembly, launched by the confederation.

The Podkrepa leader Dr. Konstantin Trenchev said that the government resorts to the mobilization of bus drivers in order to cope with the public transport problems resulting from the strike in Sofia. Podkrepa will notify the international labor organization about this action which Dr. Trenchev described as unlawful.

Bulgaria's employed manpower totals 4,200,000 people according to statistics quoted by the "DUMA" daily in early June 1990.

BTA Views Conflicting Reports

AU2711183690 Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—A representative of the Council of Ministers said on national radio that less people were on strike today than yesterday when a general strike broke out in response to an appeal of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. Podkrepa claims otherwise.

According to a government spokesman's statement intended to "explain once again the position of the cabinet and of its head on the mass media coverage of the strike," the government declares its commitment to the principle of the freedom of the press and concludes that the Council of Ministers has the right to issue recommendations. The statement says it is inadmissible that the TV program should be determined by a strike committee.

The statement was occasioned by the publication in today's national papers of a letter by the TV anchorman Mr. Ivan Garelov who tells how the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov personally threatened him with a court trial if he allowed a Podkrepa representative to appear in his program.

Before the strike broke out, the Council of Ministers invoked the opinion of the Prosecutor General's Office, according to which a strike pressing political demands is unlawful.

The Prosecutor General's Office spokesman told the BTA today that the office will not take a stand on the strike because it is no party to the dispute between employers and employees. The court was competent to decide whether the demands raised by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation were trade-union or political ones, the spokesman said.

The program board of the Bulgarian Radio rejected the accusations of inciting a strike, leveled by the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council.

Last night the minister of internal affairs said that there was no strike at the Petrochemical Combined Works in Burgas. Today the BTA correspondent filed a report about token and effective strike actions at the Burgas Works. The Independent Trade Unions local there issued a declaration explaining that they, too, want an immediate resignation of the government but are not on an effective strike so as not to ruin further the crumbling economy. "Unfortunately, our actions are misinterpreted by the BSP Supreme Council as an approval of its policy. Our trade union is more concerned for the economy than the government," the declaration reads.

On the other hand, the BTA is receiving denials of strike reports. Similar denials are being read on radio and television. Obviously, the trade unions and the managements interpret the situation in a different way.

A BTA correspondent reported effective strike actions in the town of Gorna Oryakhovitsa, a major railway junction of nationwide importance. Workers from other areas have been sent there to man the facilities but they have joined the strikers. For the time being, the rail service schedule has not been disrupted.

Two flights from Sofia to Varna were canceled today due to a strike of the members of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions at Sofia Airport.

More than 300,000 people all over the country have signed the independent trade unions petition of no confidence in parliament, a trade unions spokesman told the BTA.

Balkan Air Suspends All Flights

AU2711212090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Announcement by the the Balkan Civil Aviation Company; place and date not given]

[Text] Because of the strike begun by the engineering-technical personnel of the company in Sofia, a part of the Flight Control Administration [word indistinct], and some of the Sofia airport [words indistinct], created conditions jeopardizing the safety of flights.

The leadership of Balkan Civil Aviation Company decided to temporarily stop Balkan's internal and international flights as of 2400 [2200 GMT] on 27 November, in other words, in one hour.

BSP Supreme Council Issues Declaration

AU2711192690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Declaration of the Presidium of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council]

[Text] Yesterday at noon a declaration of the president on the situation in the country was published. The Presidium of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council declares that it shares the concern of the president with the dangerous exacerbation of the political situation in recent days.

The Podkrepa Labor Confederation initiated a general political strike, which escalated tension to such a degree that it is fully possible that the border of peaceful development in the process of democratization in our country could be crossed. This will push the country into chaos and infighting, the declaration reads. Under the existing conditions, the consequences of such a development will be very costly. In the political sphere, this will be expressed by dangerous clashes and uncontrollable situations; in the economy, by the impossibility of conducting the economic reform, which is so vital for Bulgaria; and in the social sphere, by a greater destabilization and further deterioration of the already declining standard of living.

Further on, the Presidium of the BSP Supreme Council declares that it fully shares the appeal of President Zhelev to the political forces, in which he asked them to find a reasonable solution to the tense situation in the country. The BSP Supreme Council Presidium is prepared to immediately begin bilateral and multilateral consultations aimed at implementing the constructive idea proposed by the BSP and the Union of Democratic Forces on preparing a political agreement among the parliamentary parties.

The BSP again confirms its steady opinion that the Grand National Assembly, elected by free and democratic elections in June 1990, is the basic guarantor of the peaceful transition toward democracy. Therefore, all political forces must be interested in preserving it and significantly improving its work.

The Bulgarian people have elected this Grand National Assembly, and entrusted it with the primary task of preparing and adopting a new Bulgarian constitution. This duty to the people must be implemented in a worthy manner. The situation in the country is such that the Grand National Assembly must accelerate the discussion of adopting priority laws that will facilitate the implementation of the economic reform, the declaration of the BSP Supreme Council Presidium reads.

Spokesman Asks Parties To Observe Law

AU2811131690 Sofia BTA in English 1252 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)—A spokesman for the president read on national radio an appeal calling on the political forces to abide by the laws and to respect the rights of the citizens who do not take part in political manifestations. The president recalls that it is inadmissible to organize public manifestations inconsistent with the Citizens Rallies and Assemblies Act. He warned against the blocking of road junctions and against the involvement of minors in the public process.

Strikes Carry Over to 28 Nov

AU2811105490

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0900 GMT on 28 November devotes the whole of its newscast to a nine-minute survey of the strike situation in various parts of the country.

From Ruse, correspondent Silvio Stefanov reports that "since this morning striking students from Ruse have blocked the Danube Bridge," and that the students have issued an address to the citizens of Ruse explaining that the action is in protest against the government's failure to improve of the ecological situation in the Ruse-Giurgiu area and against speculators taking goods in short supply out of Bulgaria. The address states that "the blocking of the Danube Bridge today will last three hours, and will be extended to midday on subsequent days." Reporter Stefanov reports long lines of cars in the approaches to the bridge.

In Turgovishte, 242 persons are reported to be holding a token strike, 161 of whom are medical workers in the district hospital. In addition, 96 persons are holding an actual strike.

From Pleven, correspondent Tsvetan Tsachev reports that of the approximately 1,000 workers in the public road transportation system "only the trolleybus drivers are on strike," adding that "34 trolleybus drivers and seven fitters went on strike in the first shift," leaving insufficient vehicles to transport workers to the industrial zone. No transportation workers are reported on strike in Belene and Nikopol, while a handful of transport employees are on strike in Dolna Mitropoliya and the village of Brestovets. The Pleven correspondent says "there is no change today in the numbers of strikers," and that various people are showing up for work or are refusing to join the strike."

From Stara Zagora, Nayden Rangelov reports official figures on the numbers of strikers from the interim administrations of four municipalities on small numbers of workers on strike: "In Chirpan, a few workers from the Iskra Plant and the transport firm are on token strike," while in Mugliźh 44 workers are on strike in only one plant.

It is reported that the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces in the village of Bistritsa has issued a declaration of full support for the Podkrepa general strike.

Correspondent Veselin Angelov reports that in Vratsa almost 300 of the 2,000 medical workers are on strike, and that 182 workers in a pig iron casting plant, as well as other industrial workers, are on token strike.

Finally, reporter Mariya Stefanova in Sofia reports on "an action by striking students, joined by citizens," who have been blocking traffic through the main crossroads at Orlov Bridge since this morning. She reports that "there is no traffic on Lenin Boulevard and the main routes leading to it and the Orlov Bridge junction." She adds: "Now there are not so many students and citizens here as earlier in the morning. I estimate their number to be about 500; they are scattered all over the crossroads and are not permitting any vehicles to pass, even our small radio car." "At the same time," Stefanova continues, "there are no signs of action on the part of the law enforcement organs. According to a source in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a short time ago they had no plans to take any measures against the protesters here at the crossroads." However, she reports that "earlier in the morning two students were arrested and taken by the organs to the First Municipal Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs."

Podkrepa's Krustev Details Participation

AU2811134390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Interview with Dr. Krustyu Krustev, chairman of the Podkrepa Labor Federation Strike Committee, with unidentified reporter in Sofia on 8 November—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] We are now interviewing Mr. Krustev, from the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, who will provide the latest information on the strike development.

[Krustev] Only five percent of the vehicles belonging to the Malashevtsi enterprise have come out this morning; this means that they have joined the strike of the Zemlene and Druzhba enterprises, where not even one vehicle, or perhaps only one or two, have come out.

As many as 551 petrochemical workers, who are working in shifts at the Pleven petrochemical plant, are waiting for a decision on halting production; the airport is not receiving or dispatching any aircrafts as of today—this applies to both domestic and international flights. As of today, or tomorrow, the ports of Burgas and Varna will stop working. The freight taxis in Sofia are all on strike, while 900 out of 1,200 passenger taxis are on strike.

I would like to report to Sofia Radio—especially to your Pleven correspondent—that, according to information provided by Emil Stamatov, who is the local chairman of the strike committee, the strike committee last gave information to your correspodent Tsvetan Tsochev on Monday, the first day of the strike, at 0630 local time in the morning, and no further information has been provided since. The people of the strike committee have not even seen him, this was their precise expression.

[Reporter] I hope that he is listening to us.

[Krustev] I hope so too, and if there should be some misunderstanding, I am ready to apologize to him. I would also like to comment on the mobilization of 195 military vehicles, which are supposed to service the public transportation lines in Sofia. If Mr. Lukanov persists in his actions—namely, in waging a positions war, which is the only way to describe the mobilization of military vehicles—we always have our resources and know how to respond, considering the existence of airports and seaports in this country. Things will begin to escalate dramatically as soon as the petrochemical plants stop work and the airports and ports are closed. I would like to ask only one thing: When does Mr. Lukanov think that it is time for him to resign to stop the chaos in this country?

[Reporter] Mr. Krustev, will you permit me to ask you one more question?

[Krustev] Of course, I am listening.

[Reporter] Does the blocking of streets, of important main highways and crossings, help the strike, or does this

type of activity obstruct it? This particularly applies to the traffic in the center of Sofia. Do you distance yourself from such actions, or do you support them?

[Krustev] Look here, everyone distances himself from something in our country. Let me tell you something else. Mr. Karakachanov, the mayor of Sofia, called me a short while ago, proposing a meeting at the Grand National Assembly, where I am going immediately after this interview. The aforementioned action is not ours; it is purely a students' action. We sent our legal expert with a group of miners to check on the situation, as long as they are able to help in solving the problem. Furthermore, I will do it with satisfaction, because I am aware that many Sofia citizens cannot get home, although they are not going to work.

[Reporter] Yes, I remember that the students distanced themselves from such actions in front of the university building and at the Eagles' Bridge. Do you have anything more to say?

[Krustev] No, thank you. If you come back later, I might be able to provide more reliable and more exact information.

[Reporter] We wish you a pleasant day. Let us report also an announcement from Stoyan Nikolov, spokesman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, who briefed us a short while ago that a meeting was held in Sofia today between Mr. Andrey Lukanov and Mr. Krustyu Petkov. They discussed the situation in the capital and in some other cities, and enterprises, resulting from strikes and other actions. The question of holding an extraordinary meeting of the National Commission for Coordination of Interests in connection with the non-fulfillment of the General Agreement and other trade union demands was raised.

Transit Problems Reported in Sofia

AU2811121790 Sofia BTA in English 1132 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)—Early this morning one of the busiest junctions in the centre of Sofia was blocked by an obstructing trolley bus and by some 1,000 people. The law- enforcement authorities said they will not intervene. According to a Radio Sofia report, one policeman was injured and two students were detained.

The general strike, declared by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation on November 26 to press demands for the resignation of the incumbent government, is going on. The strike committee said that reports keep coming in about workers joining in the strike action.

Almost all public transport bus drivers in Sofia are on strike. Commuters ride 195 military buses.

As from today, the workers at the Burgas Petrochemical Works are on an effective strike and have started stopping various productions. The workers at the Pleven Petrochemical Works are ready to strike, too, and they are expected to go ahead with effective strike action.

The striking miners in the town of Pernik today staged a rally after which they arrived in Sofia.

Striking teachers have flocked to a demonstration in front of the Ministry of National Education.

The municipal council in the town of Vratsa was blockaded on two occasions: once to raise trade union demands, and later on the council was besieged by angry shoppers exasperated by an endless queue.

The flights of the Balkan Bulgarian Airlines' domestic and international services were suspended over the night due to the strike.

The law-enforcement authorities reported they are concentrating on guarding vital buildings.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs keeps reporting the number of strikers in different parts of the country. In many cases the Podkrepa Strike Committee denies these reports.

Striking Students Block Sofia Streets

AU2811131990 Sofia BTA in English 1245 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)—Motor car traffic in the centre of Sofia was finally blocked today after striking students raised obstructions across several thoroughfares.

Art Academy students demanding the immediate resignation of Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov blocked the central Vasil Levski Boulevard and thus closed it to seven trolley bus lines. The students organised a happening on the roadway of the boulevard and wrote on the pavement the slogan "Lukanov shall fall!"

For a third day now, every hour on the hour Radio Sofia plays the Beatles' song "Let It Be," which is emerging as a signature tune of the Bulgarian "gentle revolution." The same song is being played in front of the higher educational establishments in Sofia occupied by striking students.

Arrested Students 'Beaten' by Police

AU2811141590 Sofia BTA in English 1337 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)—The two students detained this morning were beaten at a borough police headquarters in Sofia. Later on doctors at the emergency hospital certified them as having sustained "medium bodily harm."

That was reported on national radio by the students strike committee which recalled that on November 26 Red Beret anti-terrorist commandos were called in against a human chain of students and a clash was avoided by a miracle then.

"Does the prime minister intend to stop the strike by bloodshed?" The students strike committee asked. It described Mr. Lukanov's stay in office as a threat to the civil peace.

For its part the strike committee of the Sofia University teachers categorically protests against the brutal violation of the students' human rights and demanded the names of the beaters to be made public.

The BTA correspondent in Ruse ported today that students demanding the resignation of Mr. Lukanov's government due to its failure to do something about the ecological crisis in that city today blocked the bridge on the River Danube and the border crossing with Romania. The bridge was occupied for three hours today. The immigration officers and the customs inspectors were prevented from working by the students who said that tomorrow they will go on with a staggered blockade of the border checkpoint.

Zhelev Receives TU Leader Petkov

AU2811132490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1310 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] A meeting took place today between Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Republic, and Professor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria. The chairman of the Republic briefed him on the preparation of a draft of a political agreement between the political forces, which will resolve the issue of the government, the Grand National Assembly, and the acceleration of its activity.

The chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria briefed Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev on the almost 500,000 signatures that have been collected and that express no confidence in the government of Andrey Lukanov, and on the growing tension in the regions and enterprises where strikes have been conducted.

Mr. Krustyu Petkov assured the chairman of the Republic that if no agreement on the resignation of the government and on accelerating the work of the parliament is reached, as well as on fixing a term at which the prerogatives of the parliament will expire, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria will undertake effective action.

Parties Meet To Discuss Forming New Government

AU2711143090 Sofia BTA in English 1337 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—At the consultations the political forces held last night they discussed the prime minister's resignation, which should be done without its looking like he had surrendered to pressure, and the problem of forming an opposition- dominated cabinet, an opposition MP who took part in the consultations told a BTA reporter.

The idea is to draw a political agreement by which all problems related to the opposition's coming into power with the participation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party could be settled, Dr. Petur Beron, leader of the opposition, said commenting on the consultations. According to him the new cabinet will work on the basis of a programme drawn up jointly by the political forces.

The opposition insists that the new cabinet should be headed by a prime minister of the opposition; the Socialists now seem more inclined to give up the post, Dr. Beron underlined.

Some concessions will have to be probably made before the agreement is drawn up—the political forces will appeal for calling off the Podkrepa strike and for stopping the subscription campaign for a no-confidence vote in the present parliament launched by the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions.

The Socialists will be given guarantees that there will be no persecutions for political reasons, the leader of the Union of Democratic Forces said. Dr. Beron said that the agreement was to provide the configuration of the new government, but it would not be a parity one. The leader of the opposition defined it as a government of the reform which would be made up of politicians rather than experts.

According to an opposition source who preferred to remain anonymous the agreement will set deadlines for the adoption of priority laws and the work of the present parliament, for the local authorities elections and the new parliamentary elections.

Today the leaders of the political forces will continue their consultations.

BSP Holds Briefing on Talks

AU2711154690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Aglaya Shamlieva telephone report on Bulgarian Socialist Party news briefing; place and date not given]

[Text] [Shamlieva] This was a great news conference, attended by numerous journalists. It was organized by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council and the parliamentary group of the party. Chavdar Kyuranov, Filip Bokov, Georgi Bozhinov, Ivan Stanev, Yanaki Stoilov, Deputy Chairman Nora Ananieva, and Velko Vulkanov, who is a legal expert and was a guest, participated in the briefing with journalists.

Are there any results from the most recent political consultations?

Chavdar Kyuranov answered as follows:

[Begin Kyuranov recording] The parliament's importance and role should by no means be underestimated, because under the present conditions, considering the current situation, parliament is the only organ which is directly elected by the people and therefore, it should by no means be questioned, or jeopardized.

Nearly all leaders who participated in the meeting expressed their views in the same spirit. The importance, the role of parliament, the requirement of working in

parliament, and especially the requirement that parliament should no longer deal with petty questions were pointed out. This applies to secondary questions, which even if they are important and significant per se, nevertheless are likely to divert parliament from its main tasks. There are two such tasks today: The adoption of basic laws and the adoption of the Constitution. [end recording]

[Shamlieva] Let us hear something about the BSP's approach to the strike. There is nothing new about it. The party confirms once more the stand of the Chief Prosecutor's Office that the strike is illegal, that the strike is not nationwide, that the current government measures are in the spirit of dialogue and discussion. In many places there are serious trade union demands, demands which are justified and to which the employers should devote particular attention. A question on behalf of the Horizont Radio Station. What is your forecast? Will there be a government by the end of the week, will the Andrey Lukanov reform program be put into operation, can we expect to have a parliament?

Chavdar Kyuranov answered that there will a parliament, that the government is functioning and will continue to function, that there will be no new government, and that the parliament has voted its confidence in Andrey Lukanov. This was the view of the BSP Supreme Council expressed by Chavdar Kyuranov.

Another interesting piece of information says that the BSP has no companies abroad and that the BSP has never sold party assets to private individuals so that they may establish their own companies. In addition to this, [name indistinct] from the BSP Supreme Council Presidium energetically denied that the Kremikovtsi enterprise is on strike. The pace of work is normal, and work is even more efficient than in previous days, he added.

Regretfully, I will not discuss the surprise I felt in hearing statements expressing discontent about the work of Bulgarian Radio, especially of the Horizont Program, because these are evaluations which we should accept without comment, as is expressed in elegant parliamentarian language. Apart from this, I hope that I did not omit anything important about the BSP briefing.

'Constructive Consultations' Held

AU2711130290 Sofia BTA in English 1229 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—These are the most constructive consultations the political forces have held in the last months, Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, political adviser of the Bulgarian president, told reporters today, commenting on last night's talks which lasted seven hours.

According to Mr. Ludzhev the leaders of the political forces admitted there is a grave cabinet crisis which could be overcome only if Prime Minister Lukanov resigns.

The new cabinet should be formed on the basis of a political agreement—a guarantee that the system will be replaced, Mr. Ludzhev said.

Stating the position of the Union of Democratic Forces, he underlined that now the parliamentary crisis should be prevented by all means. The Grand National Assembly must be "reinforced," he said; it should leave aside the problems of the day to the executive and give priority to its work on the new Constitution and to the adoption of several important laws.

The consultations are going on today.

Possibile Political Agreement Suggested

AU2711201290 Sofia BTA in English 1958 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—Officials attending a BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] news conference today confirmed the reports that the political forces represented in parliament start working out a draft political agreement.

Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov, a senior member of the BSP leadership, took a negative stand on the establishment of "Red Trade Unions". He said that such steps are not inspired by the BSP.

Concerning the self-proclaimed "Bulgarian Republic of Razgrad", it was said at the news conference that its declaration was due to complicated problems which must be reckoned with.

SDS' Beron Says Agreement 'Close'

AU2711205290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] We are close to reaching a political agreement on resolving all issues, said Petur Beron, leader of the Union of Democratic Union [SDS], to our reporter. Mr. Beron pointed out that the agreement is related to the transition from a totalitarian power to a government by the opposition forces with the participation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The government in its new form will be based on a joint program of all parliamentary forces.

The opposition demands that the prime minister be an SDS member. It is anticipated that the agreement will be completed in the next few days. the work on the agreement should start already today.

Mr. Beron stressed that forming the government will be one of the agreement's parts. It looks as if it will be a parity government, Mr. Beron said. It will be a government with an emphasis on an image of new people [words indistinct], and a government of politicians, the chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council said.

In connection with the beginning of the talks the SDS might call for an end to the strike and to the collecting of signatures by the Confederation of Independent Trade

Unions in Bulgaria, Mr. Beron pointed out. The necessary guarantees will be given to the BSP on refraining from prosecuting its members for political acts related to the mechanism (?of totalitarianism).

'National Concord Government' Debated

AU2811082790 Sofia BTA in English 2154 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—Leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), the Fatherland Union and representatives of the trade unions took part in consultations today at which they considered the question of a national concord government, the Bulgarian Television reported this evening.

The political forces are preparing a political agreement. Parliament must work on and pass speedily the major legislation guaranteeing the transition to a market economy: That was the shared opinion expressed at the consultations.

Deal Would Require Lukanov Resignation

AU2811125990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1252 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] The agreement between the political forces is almost ready and will be announced later today. This was revealed to a BTA reporter by sources close to the chairman of the Republic.

The agreement envisages the resignation of Andrey Lukanov's government and the appointment by the president of a caretaker government, which will not belong to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] or the Union of Democratic Party. We await the position of the BSP Supreme Council and Andrey Lukanov.

Lukanov Deems Reports 'Hasty'

AU2811141490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1350 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] About one hour ago we cited a BTA report to the effect that an agreement between the basic political forces is almost ready, and that it will be published later today. This was learned by a BTA reporter from a source close to the chairman of the Republic.

According to this report the agreement envisages the resignation of the government and the appointment by the president of a caretaker government, whose prime minister will not be a member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] or the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

A little later BTA reported that the source of the flash report is a deputy of the Grand National Assembly. It is clear that the opinion expressed by him does not at all commit the chairman of the Republic.

Now we switch to the parliament, where our reporter Zlatina Georgieva reports:

[Georgieva] You understand, ladies and gentlemen, that we report from the corridor of the Grand National Assembly. This is what Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov told our reporter in connection with the BTA flash report on the appointment of a caretaker government:

[Begin Lukanov recording] According to the information I have, the political forces started their talks only today. They are striving to reach a reasonable compromise, something the president of the Republic calls for in his declaration. I personally fully support the president's declaration. My view is well-known: a single-party cabinet is not a proper formula for resolving the issues. We need a new solution in the form of a new government; however, this cannot happen only on the basis of a dialogue or on the basis of aspirations of one force to dominate the other. Thus, the BTA report has not been proven. It is a bit hasty, because in essence we have not talked about a new government, its membership, and its form. The talks have just begun. It is hoped that they will be effective, because I think the present situation in Bulgaria cannot continue any longer. At least those who love the country should think so. [end recording]

SDS Pledges To Continue Assembly Boycott

AU2711163490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Interview with Aleksandur Yordanov, Union of Democratic Forces deputy, by Zlatina Georgieva at the Grand National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Georgieva] Only the Legislative Commission met today. At 1000 [0800 GMT] the Coordinating Council and parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] met. The meeting ended literally a few moments ago. What happened at the meeting? Aleksandur Yordanov, SDS member of the parliament will inform us.

[Yordanov] Tomorrow [28 November] the SDS parliamentary group will not participate in the session of the Grand National Assembly.

[Georgieva] We expected this after Petur Beron's declaration on Friday [23 November].

[Yordanov] Yes, this is so. However, all our deputies will take part in the work of the commissions and will implement their basic activity there, namely, legislative activity. In addition, a working group was created. It will take part, together with representatives of the basic political forces and the trade unions in the preparation of a document, which we think, should be called a working protocol.

[Georgieva] You are a member of this group. What direction will this protocol follow, although I know that the membership of the group will be established tomorrow.

[Yordanov] This working protocol must give a clear and categorical reply to the question of the Bulgarian parliament's future work, the adoption of the basic laws, which are so extremely needed by our economy, the completion of the country's constitution, and at the same time, it must categorically and clearly guarantee the change of our country's political and economic systems. This by itself means giving an answer to the question which now excites almost all Bulgarian citizens—this will be a document which will express the necessity of forming a new government, as the only guarantee of creating a really new sociopsychological atmosphere, which will facilitate the change.

[Announcer] What government do you mean, Mr. Yordanov?

[Yordanov] In anything related to the government our position remains unchanged. It must be a government headed by an SDS prime minister. Everything else can wait—it could be decided later on and included in the working protocol.

[Georgieva] Since you mentioned the time factor, when do you intend to resume your participation in the Assembly sessions and under what conditions will you do this?

[Yordanov] I think that the most important condition is for this complex working group to complete its work and prepare the working protocol, which must clearly set the timetable and tasks of the political forces. Thus there will be no division within the parliament about issues which the public simply deems resolved and clear.

[Georgieva] Thank you very much.

Ludzhev on SDS Seeking Political Deal

AU2711174490 Sofia BTA in English 1723 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—For the time being the members of the Grand National Assembly for the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) will stay away from the plenary sittings of parliament, said Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, a senior opposition figure, after a more than five-hour-long joint meeting of the leadership and the parliamentary faction of the SDS. The SDS parliamentary faction will move that parliament does not sit this week but work should go on in the committees only. Meanwhile, the political forces will continue their consultations.

Mr. Ludzhev believes that in the course of the negotiations between the political forces it will become clear whether parliament can function effectively or whether new elections should be held.

The opposition will be seeking a deal between the political forces on all matters raised by the SDS so far: on specific deadlines for the passage of priority legislation, on a new government under the tangible control of the opposition, on the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] guilt and property. If no such deal is achieved, new parliamentary elections will probably have to be held, Mr. Ludzhev believes.

Ready To Form Cabinet; Talks Scheduled

AU2611142090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] The traditional weekly briefing of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] took place on 26 November. Mikhail Nedelchev, spokesman of the SDS Coordinating Council, informed the media that a national conference is prepared, and that it will probably take place by the end of the week.

At the meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council, which took place today, the membership of the Independent Union on Defense of Human Rights in the SDS was renewed, because it was assessed that the conflicts in this organization have been eliminated.

A meeting of the SDS parliamentary group and Coordinating Council will take place on 27 November. The participants will discuss whether the SDS deputies should return to the Grand National Assembly, and when and under what conditions should this be done.

Mr. Nedelchev pointed out at the news conference that the position of the Coordinating Council toward the proposal of the city conference, namely, that the parliamentary and municipal elections are held by the end of February 1991, is very positive. However, without committing itself to a specific term, the SDS Coordinating Council thinks that the elections must be accelerated. At the same time it preserves its previous opinion that it is necessary first to adopt certain urgent laws. Thus, one of the conditions for returning to the Grand National Assembly, Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev said, will be the adoption of certain priority laws within a specifically predetermined term.

As far as the SDS readiness to form a government is considered, the spokesman of the Coordinating Council assured the journalists that the readiness exists, and that the SDS is even working strenuously on forming a new government.

Independent TU Supports SDS-Led Cabinet

AU2011172990 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Nov 90 p 1

[Declaration of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions]

[Text] Our country is in a state of total chaos. Our economy collapses in front of our eyes. Political and social tension grows daily. The party that won the

elections, does not want, and cannot rule. At the same time, it does not want to part with the power. No solution is in sight. To avoid the total catastrophe we propose to form without any delay a government of national salvation, dominated by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] as a political force, which will assume the responsibility for saving bankrupt country from further destruction.

If such a solution proves implausible, we insist that the chairman (president) of the Republic dissolve the Grand National Assembly and announce new elections. Until then a caretaker government should be appointed, which will have two major tasks:

1. Stabilizing production and the market and beginning without any delay the economic reform.

2. Preparing the new elections; there is no time to lose. The people need bread, democracy, and a chance. We must not wait until Bulgaria becomes a beggar. We shall cooperate with a strong, honest, and responsible government, which could be formed by Chairman (President) Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

The state and society need new rulers. Let us state this in a peaceful and democratic, and yet, determined manner.

Enough lies, demagogy, promises, empty stores, and empty pockets!
Enough fear and uncertainty about the future!
We are many, we are strong, and we shall save ourselves!
Let us grant our children a decent life by free and honest work, and national solidarity!
16 November 1990.

Agrarians Condemn Razgrad 'Republic' Declaration

AU2711130090 Sofia BTA in English 1107 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—Yesterday Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev went to Razgrad in connection with the "Razgrad Republic of Bulgaria" proclaimed there last week.

Mr. Semerdzhiev attended the talks of the representatives of the political forces, of the local authorities, of the prosecuting magistracy and of the Ministry of the Interior. The secretary of the National Committee for the Protection of National Interests underlined that the "Razgrad Republic" was a moral symbol.

The discussion on the problem whether this could be the sole interpretation of the declaration in which the committee proclaimed the "republic" on November 22 lasted more than three hours.

The establishment of the "Razgrad Republic of Bulgaria" has been already condemned by the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), too.

In its yesterday's declaration the BZNS expresses support for the statement the Bulgarian president made last week in which he defined the proclamation of the "republic" as an "anti-constitutional and anti-national act of feudal separatism."

Up to now the act of separatism in Razgrad has been condemned by parties belonging to the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, the National Council of the Fatherland Union, the Central Council of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, public organizations and individual citizens.

Up to date the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party has not announced its official stand on the problem.

Interviewed by DEMOKRATSIYA, Mr. Ivan Kostov, deputy prosecutor general of the Republic, states that the establishment of the "Razgrad Republic" is to the advantage of forces which are already losing their positions the nomenclature of the ruling party. In his opinion this act is an "attempt at a takeover."

Mr. Kostov informs that demands have been made for the resignation of the prosecutor of Razgrad who instructed the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior to find out who the real instigators and founders of the "Razgrad Republic" are. These people will be indicted under Article 95 of the Bulgarian Penal Code, which envisages imprisonment of 10 to 20 years for such acts.

Varna Mayors Demand Lukanov's Resignation

AU2711203290 Sofia BTA in English 2007 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—Ten borough mayors in the city of Varna urged for the immediate resignation of the prime minister. Ten borough mayors in Sofia raised the same demand yesterday.

Chances of President, Army Seizing Power Viewed

AU2811093790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Nov 90 p 5

[Rumyan Georgiev article: "How Long Will We Exist Only Through Power?"]

[Excerpts] After the political show, spiced with all the flavor of the Balkans, which the opposition put on in parliament last week, the nation, it seems, is once again being thrown into the bosom of paternalism. Although called great, the National Assembly appears to be suffering from jaundice—and the idea is arising of a stern, but fair father who will impose order and render everyone his due. [passage omitted]

The circles for which this idea is topical, pose the issue thus: either the president, or the Army. Both institutions are symbols of the nation's unity. If the president personifies the change and democracy, then the Army is another word for order, honor, justice, and national pride.

By announcing yesterday (25 November) its petition for the dissolution of parliament, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria placed its bet on the president. Incidentally, similar suggestions were made by Mr. Trenchev to the vice president on the night when the BSP party building was set on fire. The shorthand transcript which Mr. Semerdzhiev read in parliament contained even then direct appeals for the introduction of presidential rule. Now the two great trade union confederations, which have stopped talking to one another for some time, are again at odds: "Podkrepa," through its strike, wants what the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria demanded last week, namely the government's resignation.

The consequences of all this are difficult to foresee. It is claimed that the Presidency has already set up the structures necessary for wholly taking over the government of the country. However, the president, a political figure who undoubtedly possesses the greatest political authority at the moment, is unlikely to be so naive as to aspire to such a form of rule. It would mean the beginning of his own political demise.

Well then, maybe the Army may take over. The public's extreme tiredness with the battle for power provides a good environment for the Army to intervene. Despite the firm guarantees given by Minister Mutafchiev, many cadre officers are becoming increasingly convinced that whereas in the years of totalitarianism Bulgaria was like a baby in the embraces of a gorilla, today it is deprived of the caresses of even such a harsh mother. The events in the eastern part of the country add more fuel to these sentiments.

The government's possibilities of coping with all this and of bringing the Republic out of its state of shock are not limitless. Its political will is grappling not only with claims for power which have long since gone beyond the confines of parliament, but also with the distant political advantages which the opposition parties in the alliance might draw from the dissolution of parliament. It is clear that if parliament is dissolved, there will be no elections for some time. [passage omitted]

BSP Newspaper on Crisis, Possible New Government

AU2611165990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Nov 90 p 1

[Unattributed, untitled DUMA editorial]

[Text] Imagine what would happen if the BSP government should resign?

Imagine what would happen if the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] should propose a new government as early as Monday [26 November]?

Imagine what would be the composition of this government which, for various reasons might be the following: Mr. Petur Beron—prime minister; Mr. Ludzhev, Mr. Nevrokopski (one of the two brothers, of course), and Mr. Kornazhev—deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Mr. Dimitrov—minister of finance; Mr. Kostov—minister of the economy; Mr. Petko Simenonov—minister of internal affairs; Mr. Pasi—minister of national defense; Mrs. Konstantinova—minister of higher education; Mr. Chirkov—minister of public health; Mr. Ganev—minister of justice; Mrs. Koen—minister of social welfare; Mr. Georgi Spasov, minister of culture; Mr. Medarski, minister of forestry; Mr. Koshlukov— minister of foreign affairs; Mr. Trenchev, minister of labor, and so forth.

Last, but not least, can you imagine that as Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov recently declared, the Socialists would be accorded only one ministerial post in this cabinet, namely a minister without portfolio post (so that they may learn their lesson) and this post would be given to Mr. Andrey Lukanov...of all people.

Some of you might think that we are joking, but let us not be too hasty. The joke might turn into reality at any time. The ultimatum pressure exercised by the SDS, with the strong support of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and of the Podkrepa Trade Union, might bring some surprises. People who already see themselves as ministers have no scruples. They are doing everything within their power to deceive the people with gentle and not so gentle talk, trying to persuade them that Bulgaria is doomed without them and are trying to incite the people to go on strike to fulfill their own boundless ambitions. This is no longer dangerous, but frightening. The joke can no longer be a joke when educated people are trying to seize power with the assistance of the street mob.

All kinds of people are included in the aforementioned imaginary SDS cabinet. We would not like to evaluate them as individuals, because this is not our business. Let the voters duly appreciate them according to their taste and understanding. We would just like to remark that, regardless of all the differences existing between them, they share a common feature, which makes them all very similar: This characteristic trait is their common distaste for the socialist ideas and the Socialists as such. It is an inveterate and fanatical hatred, and last but not least—an aggressive hatred which does not promise anything good to the confused population. Considering that many of those gentlemen are former communists, any unprejudiced citizen can imagine how authoritative and honorable the future ruling ministers will be.

Last Sunday, 18 November, Mr. Stoyan Ganev declared on television that the SDS government would be a cabinet composed of individuals with a clean conscience. This is a really emotional statement, but does it ring true? Can we talk about a clean conscience when some of the candidates for ministerial posts have written eulogies and enthusiastic reports about the notorious April Plenum policy and the July concepts, have written papers on Soviet state law, and praised the man [Zhivkov] whom we are prosecuting, about the

ascending socialist economy, and the failure of capitalism? Who knows, considering that some of these dirty tricks cannot be cleaned neither with soap, nor with belated hatred.

Let us wait and see what happens next Monday!

Podkrepa Head Trenchev's 13 Nov Interview Noted

AU2011172390 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 13 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Podkrepa Labor Confederation leader Dr. Konstantin Trenchev by Atanas Tsonkov; place and date not given—"Man Needs Hope"]

[Excerpts] [Tsonkov] Dr. Trenchev, recently we marked the first anniversary of announcing your trade union's program. Perhaps, it is time for an assessment? Could you first state the precise age of Podkrepa, because according to the ruling Socialists, the opposition movements and organizations are almost children of the "historic" 10 November....

[Trenchev] To a certain degree Podkrepa is a child of "Solidarity." I mean first of all the time of martial law in Poland. The idea of establishing our trade union belongs to myself, Dr. Boyko Proychev, and afterward—Nikolay Kolev—the barefooted. Petur Manolov also had a similar idea. Thus in fact several tendencies blended together and the result was born on 8 February 1989. [passage omitted]

[Tsonkov] Nevertheless, could one say, as some people do, that if there was an opposition movement one year ago, then it was initiated and led by communists?

[Trenchev] I disagree, because the organization of whom I am a member, has nothing to do with certain reformer-communists. For example, since 8 October 1989 I have been a member of the Independent Association on Defense of Human Rights. This is an organization formed by free thinking Bulgarians and former political prisoners, who have nothing to do with the communist party. The fact that other organizations, such as the Glasnost Club and "Ecoglasnost," emerged, is a different issue. At least as far as the club is concerned, I am sure that the communists had no influence there. However, on 10 November Podkrepa had the largest membership, while the Independent Association on Defense of Human Rights had the greatest international prestige. Therefore, I decisively protest against the thesis that the democratization is almost the result of the efforts of reformer-communists. Perhaps they also contributed something, but by no means did they determine the developments. [passage omitted]

[Tsonkov] Who lost and who gained from the fact that Podkrepa left the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]?

[Trenchev] I think that the word "left" is incorrect. Bulgaria needed organizations which struggle for change and democracy, and it was only logical that such organizations cooperate closely cooperate. This was the reason for forming the SDS. However, we must understand that many things changed since then, and despite the fact that the democratic process has not ended, and it appears that it will not end soon, nevertheless, some changes are necessary. Now the organizations can function to a large degree independently and deal with their specific sphere of activity. At the beginning we were together because the system was an obstacle to all. Now the system has been shaken to certain degree, and we must deal directly with our sphere of activity. There is a lot to do in each area. We remain ideologically close to the SDS. We shall always support them, however, now we have a different structure. Therefore, we assumed a status of observers in the SDS. Nothing more. The SDS will soon assume the government in our state—something I am deeply convinced of. We do not want to allow the paradox of a trade union participating in the executive power. Indeed, this was one of the mistakes of "Solidarity," and they asked us not to repeat it. [passage omitted]

[Tsonkov] What is your prediction for the present parliament and government?

[Trenchev] The present government cannot resolve the problems by no means. It even does not have the courage to begin the reforms. In addition, the balance of forces in the parliament already does not correspond with the reality. In fact, the election results did not correspond with the reality, and now this is obvious to all. I think that there will be new elections. I cannot commit myself and say exactly when, but probably next year, and then they will finally place the things in their proper places. The Communist Party, which disguises itself as a Socialist Party is doomed by history to leave the scene and its obstinacy works against the party itself. If it wants to be a serious opposition force it still has a chance. Actually, it in the process of losing even this chance.... [passage omitted]

Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Fixed; Power Cuts Remain

AU2111123890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Text] Veselin Angelov, our Vratsa correspondent reports that the defective rotor of the 1000-megawatt turbine at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has been repaired.

Specialists from the power plant and from the Leningrad Elektrosila producer plant participated in the repair work.

The preparations for putting the 1000-megawatt turbine into operation have started. The reactor is reduced to minimum working parameters, considering that the dismantling of the turbine in the purpose of examining the technical and exploitation capacities following the repair has not yet been completed. Provided that there are no further complications the unit will be put into operation in the coming days.

We also have a new announcement to make in connection with the rationing of electric power. Prior to 1200 [1000 GMT] the electric power will be interrupted for two hours every two hours today. In the afternoon, between 1200 and 1700 the electric power will be cut off for one hour, every three hours, while from 1700 to 2200 the electric power will be interrupted again for two hours every two hours.

The reason for this is that the power plants are producing 250 megawatt less today than yesterday, as Angel Kirov, senior inspector at the central control department of the Energy Committee, explained. We also know that an important meeting is expected to take place at the Energy Committee this afternoon with specialists from all over the country and we will further inform you on the results of the meeting.

Decrease in Electric Power Supply From USSR

AU2011160490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Nov 90 p 2

[Evgeni Gavrilov report: "Import of Electric Power From USSR Decreases by 300 Million Kilowatt Hours"]

[Text] The 750 kilovolt power transmission line between the USSR and Bulgaria has ceased to function.

Romania also is "attached" to the same power transmission line. It is in a better situation than Bulgaria, because it has first access to electric power, while what remains does not always correspond to the 600 megawatts Bulgaria is supposed to receive as dictated by contract, Dimitur Sokolov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Power Supplies, says.

According to him, in light of the situation that emerged after switching off the fifth reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, it is better for our country to receive electric power from the USSR through the other, 400-kilovolt transmission line, which connects the two electric power systems, leaving Romania out.

Until the end of this year Bulgaria will import from the USSR the total of 4.2 billion kilowatt hours of energy, which is 300 million kilowatt hours less than what was received in previous years.

At the beginning the USSR said that only 3 billion kilowatt hours of energy will be supplied, but after prolonged negotiations this quantity was increased by 1.2 billion kilowatt hours, Dimitur Sokolov said.

The Bulgarian and Soviet power supply systems are connected by two 400-kilovolt and 750-kilovolt transmission lines. The second transmission line is relatively new. It was constructed two years ago and the basic idea was that it would supply our power supply system temporarily, for periods of eight to 10 hours, if the 1,000-megawatt reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant were switched off as a result of an accident. While signing the contract on utilizing the 750-kilovolt transmission line the USSR committed itself to supplying only 600 rather than 1,000 megawatts of electricity.

Our relations with the Western European power supply system are predominantly limited to Yugoslavia, Greece, Austria, and Turkey.

Until last year the state used to allocate to the Committee on Power Supply about $20 million for spare parts, equipment, and implementing control in the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. This year our power supply system has not received a single cent. This was the reason for importing 800 million kilowatt hours of electric power from Yugoslavia and Austria. Otherwise the country's power supply system would have ceased to function.

Zhivkov Proposes Auctioning All Gifts Received

AU2511194590 Sofia BTA in English 1929 GMT 25 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Nov (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov has suggested to sell by auction with international participation and in the presence of a member of his family all presents he received as leader of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the state. According to him the sum secured through the sale could come up to one billion dollars [figure as received]. It would be enough to build at least a modern children's hospital, Todor Zhivkov said.

A BTA reporter talked with a journalist from crew two of the Bulgarian Television, Ms. Neri Terzieva, who availed herself of a private visit to former Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov and interviewed him, as a result of which he made the above statement.

The presents concerned were works of art and valuable objects for the making of which tens of kilograms of precious metals had been used. Todor Zhivkov said that works of art which are of national value would not be auctioned.

Zhelev, Soviet Envoy View Internal Situation

AU2811081790 Sofia BTA in English 2145 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, today received at his request Mr Viktor Sharapov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to Bulgaria. They considered the political situation in this country.

OF, KDH Unofficial Winners in Local Elections

AU2711151190 Prague CTK in English 2154 GMT 25 Nov 90

[Text] Prague/Bratislava Nov 25 (CTK)—The Civic Forum movement (OF), founded in the first protests against the communist regime last November, remains the strongest force in the Czech Republic, according to first estimates of the results of local elections here this weekend.

In Slovakia, OF's sister movement, the Public Against Violence (VPN), lost its leading position of last June's parliamentary elections to the Christian Democratic Movement.

Communists retained their second position of the June vote in the Czech Republic, gaining the second largest number of seats (15.8 percent), but they overtook the Slovak National Party to gain the third place in Slovakia with 13.6 percent.

The Self-Government Democracy Movement, a party seeking regional autonomy for Moravia, and the nationalist Slovak National Party (SNS) both suffered heavy losses over the June vote. The estimates of the Czech vote give the Moravian movement only 4.7 percent (2.0 percent of seats) against 10.03 percent of votes to the Czech parliament in June. SNS won 3.2 percent of votes yesterday, against 13.94 to the Slovak parliament five months ago.

Although OF is clear winner overall, with an estimated 35.4 percent and as much as 50.3 in Prague, it is less than 49.50 percent in the elections to the Czech parliament. Its showing was lowest in villages with an electorate of less than 500 where it gained only 24.1 percent while independent candidates won 36.9 percent.

In Slovakia, the VPN has 20.4 percent of seats against 29.34 of votes in last June's elections to the Slovak National Council while the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) gained, winning 27.4 percent of seats against 19.20 percent of votes last June.

VPN and KDH form a coalition government in Slovakia, together with the Democratic Party. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is a VPN representative while KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky is First Slovak Deputy Prime Minister.

New CPCZ Federal Council Chief on Party Role

AU2711135190 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 24 Nov 90 p 5

["Exclusive" interview with Pavol Kanis, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Federal Council, by Gerhard Plott in Bratislava; date not given: "No Communist Ideas"]

[Text] [Plott] You are extraordinarily cheerful given the fact that you are the new chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. Why?

[Kanis] Actually, my exact title is "chairman of the CPCZ Federal Council," and I am not quite so cheerful because we have more problems than the crew on the Titanic. I took over the office because the community of the people who belong to this party is important to me. This is my mission—in addition to the ideological restructuring.

[Plott] The CPCZ has not changed its name. Are you really so proud of your past?

[Kanis] It is only a question of time before we will change our name, but the views of the Czech and the Slovak communist parties diverge on this question. In Slovakia we are also already discussing the name "Party of Democratic Socialists," because there we have already absolutely democratic structures in the party. The situation is more complicated in the Bohemian regions. A referendum will have to decide the issue there.

[Plott] Is the nationality problem thus reflected within the CPCZ?

[Kanis] Yes, but it has been solved in the best way in our party, because the regional chiefs rotate annually for the federal chairmanship. This is one of the reasons why I say that the Slovak Communist Party has the most democratic structure of all other parties.

[Plott] Your federalism, of which you are so proud, comes from the period of Stalinist "normalization" after 1968. It has not convinced anyone of its substance for over 22 years, why should it do so now?

[Kanis] I understand the question in the following way: The CPCZ was in power for 40 years and was not able to convince anyone of its goals. The federalization after 1968 came from the people; however, it was unfortunately unable to realize its inner potential because the 1968 invasion stopped this by means of neo-Stalinism. The Federation changed because of Prague's centralism.

[Plott] The gap between the nationalities is now emerging quite clearly. You, as a Slovak who was born in Prague, are a special case. What is your attitude toward the Slovak Nationalist Party, SNS?

[Kanis] My relations with the SNS: They have the radically thinking Slovaks on their side. We do not support their goal of an independent Slovak state.

[Plott] Thus, the CPCZ will not cooperate with the SNS?

[Kanis] I do not rule out cooperation with any party; however, this always involves cooperation for a specific problem.

[Plott] Does the CPCZ want to be the guarantor for the unity of the CSFR?

[Kanis] Of course. Because the other parties will not live long, fundamental changes are still ahead of us—for instance, the privatization of the economy. It will cause a great radicalization among the population—both in social and nationalist terms. Next spring at the latest tensions will escalate dramatically, because the structures are crumbling. No ideology will be able to change anything then.

[Plott] For you, the cause of these tensions is freedom. Is this not a bit simple after the rule of the Communist Party? Does the Communist Party want to come to power because of the tensions?

[Kanis] We no longer have any communist ideas. We support the principles of pluralism, democracy, and the social market economy. The question of power is not a realistic question for us. We agree with economic reforms, but not with the reform ideas of our government. They represent a neoconservative liberalism. If the government advocated an "Austrian path," our standpoint would be different. The government draft for privatizing the large enterprises is the reverse path of our collectivization of 1948.

[Plott] It is rare that someone calls himself a communist and does not support communist ideas.

[Kanis] I have only been a communist since 1981 and last spring I recommended to ex-party chief Jakes that he resign. As a result, they wanted to exclude me from the CPCZ. I have always said that the restructuring of society will cost the CPCZ power, and I thought this five years before the revolution.

[Plott] Thank you for your frankness. Does the population believe you?

[Kanis] This is our basic problem. The loss of trust is great, but 13.7 percent of the voters supported us at the last elections.

[Plott] In conclusion, a personal question: How did you experience the 1968 invasion?

[Kanis] I was working in a student brigade in Siberia at the time. When the general strike was called at home, we, too, went on strike, and were sent home immediately. When I arrived here at the end of August, everything seemed like a new world to me.

[Plott] What did you think and do during last year's revolution?

[Kanis] I was the deputy head of a university institute and was working on an analysis of the position of the CPCZ within society, which the Communist Party did not like. I was also among the demonstrators in Wenceslas Square.

Trade Unions Adopt Decision on Strike Alert

LD2711194390 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] At today's extraordinary session of the Trade Unions General Council, the chairmen of all trade unions of the two republics adopted a decision to put the trade unions on strike alert tomorrow, 28 November. This is aimed neither against the government nor against the employers, but against a group of Federal Assembly deputies who keep rejecting all trade unionists' arguments. The proposed draft bills constitute the outcome of complex tripartite negotiations between the government, employers, and trade unionists who, as they said, are unable to make further concessions in addition to the compromises to which they have acceded.

Klaus Gives News Conference on Inflation, Budget

AU2711100990 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 8

[Marcela Doleckova report: "Cutting Across the Inflation Spiral; Minister V. Klaus on Prices, Inflation, and the Budget"]

[Text] Price liberalization does not mean price arbitrariness and organized privatization does not mean chaos and underhand transfers of state property, Federal Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus declared at a news conference in Prague yesterday. His aim at this news conference, as he himself strongly emphasized, was to provide enough information on the policies and intentions of the Ministry of Finance for unwarranted expectations and rumors, grapevine, and so-called foolproof information to disappear because in the final analysis all these things undermine the start of the reform.

On the price issue the minister declared that, besides other extremely important laws, the Federal Assembly has not had time yet to deal with the draft law on prices. The price law is to determine the forms and methods of price regulation because there are enterprises and entrepreneurs trying to take advantage of their monopoly status and of the situation in the Czechoslovak economy in general. Price regulation will not work against the market spirit but will supplement price fixing by the market. In other words, the aim of the price law is not to set prices by administrative means but to curb any price explosion. It is an attempt to cut across the dangerous inflation spiral before it reaches the upper floors, as well as an attempt to spread the increase in prices across a longer period of time so that this economy and the people of this country can bear it. The extent of price regulation cannot be determined yet because the regulatory degrees will be variable themselves so that they can flexibly respond to the situation on the market. The forms of price regulation should, among other things, comprise a law preventing a supplier from extracting a certain price in order to achieve an inordinate profit. The possibility is being considered of setting a maximum price for certain articles. Statements such as that world prices will be used in Czechoslovakia as of 1 January 1991 are

regarded by the ministry as gross misrepresentation to the public. There will not be world prices in Czechoslovakia as long as our manufacturers do not offer merchandise of world standard. We are at a completely different level for the time being, including in wages.

The subject of inflation was introduced by the minister of finance and his colleagues by the statement that what we are witnessing today is nothing but the transformation of hitherto suppressed inflation into open inflation. Our inflation rate is far from being as terrifying as it might seem to the public. This is because it is reflected to a much higher degree in the prices of final products than it is in the prices of intermediary products. The minister did not give a direct reply to the question of HOSPODARSKE NOVINY whether the increase in the discount rate [announced by the Czechoslovak State Bank the day before] and in the rate of interest on credits in general as a way of making money dearer and, thereby, fighting inflation would not endanger entrepreneurial activity too much. He did, however, explain his concept in the part of the news conference which dealt with the state budget for next year.

The priority aim of the state budget for next year is to reinforce internal balance. The attainment of this target has priority over economic growth. It is expected that it will not be possible to maintain positive economic growth, as a result of various factors. These include external factors, such as decline of economic activity in CEMA countries, the lack of financial resources in these countries, as well as the fact that these countries are increasingly turning to suppliers in other markets. It is therefore apparent that Czechoslovakia's deliveries to the markets of the other CEMA countries will decline. Among the internal factors is that we must anticipate a cut in Czechoslovak imports, to say nothing of the increase in prices of essential raw material imports. The fact cannot be ruled out either that the restructuring of industry may have a negative impact on total economic growth. It is to be hoped that inefficient businesses will register a decline or go completely bankrupt. Regrettably, this decline will not be completely offset by the growth of new businesses so that the resultant economic growth will be negative.

Klaus Interviewed on Economic Reform, Transition

AU2711114990 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Karel Hvizdala and Libor Sevcik; place and date not given: "I Am Anxious Whether We Will Make it Through the Transitional Period"]

[Text] [MLADA FRONTA DNES] You are the man who is constantly saying that during the transition to the market economy it is necessary to introduce the convertibility of the koruna and the liberalization of prices. In fact, wages represent prices, too. Is that not a contradiction in your statements?

[Klaus] From the view of spheres of competence, wages are not in my jurisdiction and I have done nothing to them at all. This is the first thing. On the other hand, wages are not completely frozen. Wages grow more slowly than prices, there is no doubt about it. It is also true that in our country real wages are declining, but this is caused by a number of reasons. One of them is the regulation of wages adopted for this year. Another reason is that a number of enterprises and entrepreneurs simply do not have enough money to pay higher wages. One must bear this in mind. This is the beginning of everything. It is possible to pay wages irrespective of central regulations, yet the question remains whether enterprises have enough money for it. We know that many enterprises are encountering enormous problems and that their insolvency is growing. These are not the circumstances under which wages would skyrocket.

Wages are prices as well and this is why they must obey the same laws as other prices. This means that if we are introducing price liberalization, we have to liberalize wages as well. Our task is to prevent a surge of spiraling inflation that would create an unacceptable situation for all of us. That is why we must implement some regulatory measures. If you remember, we talked about it in the summer —we spoke about freezing prices and various braking mechanisms that would prevent skyrocketing prices. The same principle is valid for wages. We must apply similar brakes to curb wage increases—we have very often discussed this problem in connection with the division of spheres of competence between the federal and republican governments. Yesterday, for example, we agreed upon one thing, that is, that we cannot apply different principles in the town of Cadca, Trinec, Malacky, or Breclav. Of course, we cannot introduce different wage regulations in these cities.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] In some interviews you have admitted that you were a conservative man and a conservative politician. A conservative man, however, is someone who defends what has already been established and what is traditional. Yet, you are a revolutionary man who destroys what has been established. How do you explain this contradiction?

[Klaus] There are two meanings to the word "conservative." I understand it as ideology based on man's individuality—ideology that puts human rights before any other interests, such as state interests, and so on. I support the view that the state should interfere in the economy and the life of society to a minimum degree possible. This is a conservative attitude.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] You said in New York that you do not believe in any training in economics, that "homo economicus" is dormant in each of us, and that, as soon as market conditions are established, this homo economicus will wake up. When we look back on how the capitalist system has been established, we will see that there was a great Protestant revolution and that there is a 300-year-long tradition—but all we have is a 50-year-long abyss behind us. Furthermore, it is not "homo

economicus" that rules in the West, but "homo naturalis." How do you want to wake up this little and economy-oriented fellow within us?

[Klaus] I try to understand economic history and I can see that the influence of Protestant ethics on the birth of the capitalist system is indisputable. We all know this fact and it becomes apparent that this ethics represented an impulse releasing something important inside man. We cannot organize a Protestant revolution and carry it out. This is not our case. We have to follow up on the fact that despite the 50 years of collectivist ideology we sill have a longer history of reformism, and this reformism is much more deeply hidden inside us than this 40 or 50 years of the history of collectivism. But, even if this were not the case and both ideologies were of equal strength inside us, even then we could not ignore the fact that reality is knocking on the door. If external circumstances exert pressure on a man, and if this pressure is strong enough, than it awakens correct, quick, and natural reactions in a man. Let us have a look, for instance, at a textile factory that has been manufacturing sweaters of identical color and pattern for ten years.... This is not because people lack the homo economicus attitude, but because the factory is able to sell its product to someone. Once it is unable to sell it, it will either have to change its manufacturing program or go bankrupt.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] It has often been said that the transition to a market economy is associated with sacrifices and tightened belts. A man is capable of sacrifices in the name of some larger whole, of some kind of perspective. The market economy is associated with private matters.... Is there not a contradiction in this concept?

[Klaus] In principle, I would prefer to skip the word "sacrifice." We do not have to speak about sacrifices here, and if someone says so, I do not. I have never spoken about sacrifices—someone else has. I have even publicly raised objections against talking about tightened belts. I am in favor of rolling up your sleeves. The idea of making sacrifices is wrong. I think that we have been making sacrifices for 40 years and that has not been enough. Making sacrifices means to be passive, rolling up your sleeves means to be active. In this sense, my philosophy has always been directed toward being active. I believe that the sacrifices—that is, giving up something—will not have to be so great. Yet, we will have to make sacrifices in the sense that we will have to work a lot and that we will be required to work a lot. This can also be called a sacrifice, but I do not call it that. If I work as many hours as I do now, then I do not consider it to be a sacrifice. It is a pleasure for me, because I can see results and I have a feeling that all this leads to some goal.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Another contradiction could be seen in the fact that, despite the fact that you consider yourself to be a conservatively thinking man, you have accepted a function in an amorphous political movement, in a not very well constituted party....

[Klaus] I believe that my election as head of the Civic Forum [OF] is the result of the will of those who have voted for me and who do not want me only to make a certain shift in ideology. I also believe that they want me to make the movement organizationally stronger, that is, to change the amorphous movement into something more organized, which could possibly assume the structure of a party. I am not saying that we will have such a party tomorrow. Neither am I saying that if we had such a party we would be gluing multicolored stamps in party membership cards. These shifts that we are both talking about—that is, making the political line more clear, tighter organization, the strengthening of decentralization tendencies against the powerful center residing in Prague—are, I believe, quite in the spirit of conservative traditions. There is no contradiction in it.

I would like to add that almost all the parties in the CSFR, associating members of dissimilar ideologies, lack a unified ideology. It is false to say that this ideological differentiation exists only within the OF. It exists in all our political parties. Since the OF is the largest and the most visible, people talk about it. Yet, I could name one party after another and say that I understand very little of its ideology, that I do not know what the party wants, and that its individual representatives vacillate from the left to the right—but, since these parties are considered to be unimportant, no one pays any attention to them, and they are left without comments. I am of the opinion therefore, that we must cement not only the OF but all the political parties and movements in our country because this would create conditions for a sensible dialogue. Under such conditions it would be impossible for NARODNA OBRODA to write that in the absence of Calfa and Deputy Prime Minister Vales I was preparing a putsch and that a special plane had to be flown to Brussels for Vales to be able to return home, and so on....

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What kind of mechanism would help establish a more clearly defined political scale?

[Klaus] I think that this test period is unavoidable and that we should not be anxious about it. A number of political parties will not survive. Some 50 parties cannot exist simultaneously. There is only a limited number of ideologies. We need about five parties associating professionals that will not air naive essays. In this sense, I am impatient.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] People are afraid of the future. How about you?

[Klaus] I am really very anxious whether we will be able to make it through the transitional period beginning on 1 January. It makes me nervous that the disputes about the spheres of competence freeze: a) our work, b) debate on needed laws. We already have the law on prices, law on foreign currency, law on budgetary rules, and the law that follows up on the latter law—a specific law on the 1991 state budget. I could name five more laws: The law

on bonds and obligations—we need this law because without it we would never be able to issue a single bond. In order to combat monopolies effectively we need a law on economic competition.... That is, we need a law on prices, a law on foreign currencies, budgetary rules and law on the state budget. The budget should be debated in the government next Thursday [29 November]. As yet we have been unable to achieve a general consensus with the republics because the problems connected with the spheres of competence have not been made clear. This means, however, that budgetary rules have not been discussed. This hampers the discussion about all other laws, such as the law on prices—in this case there is no dispute about the principles of this law, but about the spheres of competence. We cannot do anything in the absence of this law. And the time that is left till 1 January is very short.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] All this is blocked only by the disputes about spheres of competence?

[Klaus] The main obstacle is the dispute about the spheres of competence. Another problem is, how much time will be needed for parliament to pass it. Parliament has a lot of work. It will decide what it will discuss first. The problem is that there is a hierarchy of values.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Whenever one switches on the television, one can hear people whining and moaning rather than clearly specifying problems. You are different from the majority of people and politicians....

[Klaus] I do not believe that it is not important whether we believe strongly in state protectionism or not. As soon as the state stops providing protection, there will be no alternative but to react, to do something, and adapt ourselves.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What if a great number of people are unable to?

[Klaus] Let us differentiate between who is, and who is not able to adapt to this situation. It is absolutely clear that the state will be here with its safety net—its social policy—offering help to each and everyone who is not able, for various reasons, to adapt. There is no question about this and I can reveal that various items of the 1991 state budget will shrink except one item—spending on social policy.

Economic Council Views Federal, Republic Budgets

U2711105590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 8

[Josef Prouza report: "Budget Must 'Breathe' With the Economy; Gloomy Signals From the Economic Council; J. Dienstbier's Proposal"]

[Text] In the introduction to yesterday's meeting of the Federal Assembly Planning and Budgetary Committees, Deputies H. Koctuch and V. Silhan reported on the work of the CSFR Economic Council. A bill on budgetary regulations for the federation was debated. It was defended on behalf of the proposer by the First Deputy Federal Minister I. Kocarnik.

Lately, the meetings of the Economic Council have been very long. The deputies were told by their colleague H. Koctuch that at the meeting strategy for a development until 1992 was discussed. It was complemented by a concept for the development of the republics, as well as by an analysis of the present state of the economy (point of departure). Minister J. Dienstbier proposed to the council members that the somber state of the Czechoslovak relations with the USSR be dealt with by a loan in the amount of U.S.$16 billion. Together with other countries which are in a situation similar to ours, we should help to find not only goods and other resources for the Soviet market but, as Deputy V. Silhan observed, above all resources for its reconstruction and qualitative change, since otherwise this investment would be thrown into a "black hole" without any hope of a return.

It appears that the scenario of the economic reform, and discussions about this scenario conducted on an "ideological level," must find concrete form in an operative scenario for the next half-year. Practical measures may deviate from the original—Deputy V. Silhan did not even exclude the possibility of its collapse and abandonment. The model situations do not necessarily correspond to the reality, which he demonstrated by the example of the market collapse in the USSR. It is necessary that a catastrophe scenario is also drawn up, one that would provide for the case of minute or nonexistent crude oil deliveries, etc. The operative scenario will be submitted to the government and eventually to parliament. It is not, however, and it cannot be a constant one, if it is to react sensitively to the changing situation. The economic policy focuses on a single stage connected with the liberalization of prices and the market in general: Deputy V. Silhan used the word "explosion." This stage should be as short as possible, a stabilization must follow, then recovery, and a transfer to a working market economy. It will be necessary to watch the inflation rate and the real buying power of the population, even at a price of adopting some regulatory measures. The search for a "threshold of sensitivity," beyond which strikes and general dissatisfaction ensue, is a problem of cardinal importance because otherwise the whole situation could slip out of the government's hands and the economy would become uncontrollable. V. Silhan described as dubious the published data on the inflation rate for January-November (7.2 percent) because the data for the recent months are quite alarming; the State Bank of Czechoslovakia chairman is supposed to have spoken of 20 percent.

The currency and financial policy is to be much more restrictive next year—that is implied among other things by the analysis of the budget for this year. Our banking system is not operating in the context of the reform as it should. It is not sufficiently flexible and it is shakled by leg irons of the past, above all the tremendous debt of the enterprises. Of course, it is not known who will offer help

to shoulder the burden of their obligations. V. Silhan also quoted Deputy Prime Minister V. Vales, who, during a meeting with the faculty and students of the Prague School of Economics, stated that if at least one-quarter of our enterprises do not change their production program, it will cause great difficulty with payments. Already the devaluation caused an uncontrollable development in some places. Billions are missing. The pessimistic conclusion is that we have to implement at least some elements of the reform in the economic policy and, above all, prepare variants of a reaction to all possible roads of development, including catastrophe.

Following this "cold shower" the deputies approached the debate of the bill on budgetary regulations for the federation. I. Kocarnik said that the aim of the law is to remove the superiority of the federation budget over the republic budgets and thereby the redistribution processes. The three budgets will have strict limits and defined revenues. The situation whereby the exhausted national budgets ask for more revenues from the federal budget, will no longer be possible. The original idea—simply, reverse this cooperation—was uprooted. The federation budget will not depend on the republic budgets. Deputy Minister I. Kocarnik further said that the federal budget needs 65 billion korunas for "survival." The compensatory allowance paid from the federal budget (the well-known 140 korunas per capita) alone requires 27 billion korunas, the increase in the price of fuel and energy, for which the government intends compensate to children and pensioners, will require 7.5 billion, and the expenses on restitution—1.5 billion, market regulation fund, expenses with structural changes, ecology, and reserves for social measures—require 117 billion korunas. Moreover, the main revenue items (turnover tax, profit tax), which should bring 150 and 80 billion korunas respectively, are controversial. There is no solution on the horizon. Some enterprises have their seat in one republic, plants in the other, and there is no separate bookkeeping, and therefore no chance of establishing the place of origin. The consumer tax, unknown in Czechoslovak taxation, is causing further problems simply by being "disguised," for example, gas, tobacco, alcohol, cars, in all these cases the so-called prohibitive tax is high, and it is a question whether Czech consumers (actually paying the tax in the prices) are to pay this amount to Slovakia (the gas question). Deputy M. Zeman contemplated aloud the possibility of setting a federal tax but he immediately withdrew this remark, when he realized how popular a tax with this name would be in the republics and the pressure for its abolition which would ensue right away. Particularly in the issue of the profit tax, the budgets should "breath" with the economy, i.e., react sensitively to the height of profit and the economic situation. Deputy Minister I. Kocarnik closed the discussion with the remark: Apparently, we must pass through the difficulties of the territorial principle and economic problems in order for everybody to realize that we have a unified market.

Tripartite Economic Council Examines Wage Reform

AU2711133190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Nov 90 pp 1,8

["(MS)"-signed report: "The First Proposal for a General Agreement"]

[Text] The subsistence minimum, if it is the only source of income, should be set at a sum of 1,600 korunas. This is clear from the first proposal for a general agreement—involving the Federal Government, the trade unions, and employers—which trade union representatives submitted at yesterday's session of the tripartite CSFR Council for Economic and Social Accord.

As Federal Duputy Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik stated, the current economic situation makes it impossible for us to undertake such a generous social program. We simply do not have the resources for it. Strategic Planning Minister Pavel Hoffmann added that the state cannot bear responsibility for the entire social system because it does not have control over all its resources. It would once again have to play a paternalistic role. Employers' representatives also emphasized the need for the proposal to be further elaborated because their own version, which they have also prepared, differs considerably from this one. Federal Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales, who chaired yesterday's session, proposed the establishment of a joint working commission which should prepare principles for an agreement within 14 days. This will be a binding collection of undertakings for all three parties. At the same time, it will be necessary to elect a course of action whereby the agreed conditions for social harmony are the same in both the federation and in the republics.

Vaclav Vales also reacted to queries put by the trade union representatives and expressed his regret that the additional omission of Article 5—on the participation of employees in the management and development of an enterprise—from the government draft amendment to the labor code has meant a violation of the principles for the tripartite meetings. The government's course of action was caused by the time constraints. "All three parties lack experience in such negotiations," stated V. Vales in this connection, and he stressed that the government definitely did not intend to violate the principles for consensus with employers and the trade unions.

A great deal of discussion arose around the draft principles for wage reform. For example, federal Deputy Finance Minister Stanislav Sourek informed the meeting's participants that representatives from foreign financial organizations appreciate that we have, so far, managed to contain the growth in wages as an anti-inflationary measure. There are already proposals to raise prices many times over, however, despite the fact that neither manufacturing products nor their components are being imported. P. Hoffmann suggested that—at a time of temporary shortages in resources and following an agreement between employers and the trade unions—the specified wage tariffs not be adhered to and

that a minimum wage be determined. The trade unionists agreed to this, of course, under the condition that this minimum wage be specified in the agreement as a guarantee that money will continue to be paid. A commission of experts from all three parties will further discuss these points as well as the majority of other points that the council had on its agenda.

Government's Draft Prices Law Outlined

AU2711160990 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Nov 90 p 2

["(HA)"-signed report: "Sufficient Room for Maneuver"]

[Text] One of the important legal norms for economic reform—which will be debated in the Federal Assembly next week—is the government draft law on prices. The purpose of this law is to determine the methods and forms for regulating prices so that they supplement the market's regulation of prices and, at the same time, prevent negative consequences of an even more monopolistic nature on our market.

The starting point for the draft law, therefore, is an endeavor for maximum stability and flexibility from the point of view of the possible market situation. The draft creates room for maneuver in implementing a wide range of regulating instruments (officially determined prices, the substantive regulation of prices, the progressive regulation of prices, price moratoria) which in itself does not mean that all the above-mentioned instruments have to be utilized. Moreover, it is also possible to select the level for implementing these instruments or a combination of them. The extent of regulation will, understandably, be mainly influenced by how comprehensive the list of goods with regulated prices is.

The market nature of prices and their exclusive establishment by agreement between buyer and seller is enshrined in the law. The regulation of prices by the state is also possible in specific instances. As opposed to previous regulations, formal differentiation among types of prices (purchase, wholesale, commercial, retail, and contractual) is being abandoned. At the same time, the law does not permit sellers to abuse the imperfections of economic competition by demanding inadequately high prices and, on the contrary, it does not permit buyers to demand inconsistently low prices. Of course, in instances of unsuitably low prices, there will not be the problem of so-called dumping; this issue falls within the jurisdiction of antimonopoly offices. There will also not be the problem of certain buyers abusing their dominant position. The level adequate for profit and the economic justifiability of costs will gradually stabilize when the Czechoslovak market begins to function and when it is linked to the world market. Price regulation will require a ready response to undesirable developments in prices from the point of view of the aims of economic reform.

The main form of officially determining prices is the maximum price. The advantage of this lies in the fact that it does not prevent the free movement of real prices dependent on the development of supply and demand. This also represents a sufficient brake on speculative operations by monopolistic and dominant entities. The law also codifies the possibility of implementing fixed prices; however, it does not envisage its broad practical use since this is a graphic element of cartelization and of blocking market relations. From the point of view of holding back inflationary processes, its role will be completely taken over by the determination of maximum prices in selected types of goods.

The substantive regulation of prices represents a freer form of regulation where the figure for the price is not determined directly, but where the obligatory or permissible methods of constructing the price are determined.

Regulating movements in prices balances out price increases in order to fulfill specific conditions or to adhere to set deadlines. This is a more moderate method of regulating prices which is applied exclusively to sellers with a monopolistic or dominant position in a specific type of product on the federal or republican market. A price moratorium is considered to be an absolutely exceptional measure applicable to a whole range of markets. For example, in the food, raw materials, fuels and power industries, industrial products, or services markets; this is applied completely separately from ordinary price regulation. The declaration of a price moratorium is restricted to the Federal Government and to the republican governments. At the same time, it is assumed that a price moratorium has to be necessarily accompanied by a series of macroeconomic measures making it possible to eradicate the crisis situation and to return to normal market conditions within a time period shorter than six months.

The list of goods with regulated prices represents a single basis for the specific regulation of prices in individual categories. It will be divided into the following fundamental elements: goods with officially determined maximum and minimum prices, goods for which local authorities can set maximum prices, goods with various forms of substantive price regulation, and goods which come under the progressive regulation of prices.

The draft law will establish obligatory record-keeping for the purpose of price regulation and to make sure that it is adhered to. The law proceeds from a new concept for price control which corresponds to the framework of the market economy. This involves regular supervisory activity by an administrative or autonomous body; however, it does not envisage—among other things—a price control function with the aim of monitoring the efficiency of price regulation. In order to guarantee essential legal certainties, the draft law explicitly determines what kind of instances lead to a violation of price regulations. It also defines abuse of economic position when fixing prices as a violation of the regulations.

From the day envisaged for the law to come into effect (1 January 1991), free market prices should become fully valid in the Czechoslovak economy. However, according

to the valid law, it is possible to determine prices in contracts concluded on the day the law comes into effect. For example, if goods are supplied for the previous fixed or determined price in accordance with contracts concluded earlier, it is possible to implement new prices on the basis of new agreements or addenda to the old agreements. However, this arrangement must not be applied to so-called delayed supplies which have to be paid for at prices valid until 31 December 1990. According to the additional proposed amendments, both sides may withdraw from contracts concluded before 31 December 1990—with a delivery time after 1 January 1991—if no price changes are agreed. If sellers withdraw from their contracts, they have to prove that they have been affected by higher essential costs. In such instances, the side which withdraws from a contract will compensate for any costs which arise.

The prices of goods which as of 1 January 1991 will be regulated by the officially determined method or by the substantive regulation method may be amended within a three month time period so that they correspond to the new officially determined prices and to the adopted regulations. At the same time, as of the day the law comes into effect, the deadline for the announcement of price increases by monopolistic and dominant sellers will begin to expire. It is possible to implement—by agreement with the buyer—immediate price increases within the framework of the determined limit without informing the pricing bodies. Other sellers who do not achieve a dominant share of the market in similar or exchangeable goods are not affected by these restrictions.

It is envisaged that procedural decrees will be issued by pricing bodies which will define some of the concepts in more detail and which will determine appropriate proposals for regulating prices and price records as well as a more detailed course of action in price control.

Czech Council Calls For More Havirov Elections

LD2711132590 Prague CTK in English 1216 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—The Czech National Council (parliament) Presidium today called additional elections in the north Moravian town of Havirov and 23 villages on December 15, 1990, after hearing a report of the Czech Electoral Commission on the local elections held on November 24.

Czech Ku Klux Klan Denied Registration

AU2711132990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

["(ada)"-signed report: "The KKK Will Not Be Registered"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—The attempt to register a new organization with the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic did not come off. It was already the second attempt at registration by this organization, whose name is "Invisible Empire of KKK (Ku Klux Klan) Knights."

During the first registration attempt, the applicants did not meet all the requirements set by law. We asked Dr. Darja Benesova from the Civil Administration Department of the Czech Republic Ministry of Interior for details:

The registration of the organization was turned down by a decision of the Ministry of Interior on the basis of Law No. 83 of 1990 and, more specifically, on the basis of Article 8, section 1c and 1d. (Under these stipulations, associations are not permitted whose aim is to deny personal, political, or other rights of citizens. According to the law, associations must not perform the tasks of state bodies, unless stipulated otherwise by special provisions. They must not supervise state bodies and assign duties to citizens who are not their members—editor's note).

The second request at registration was submitted with all the required details—i.e. the name of the association, its address, aim, activities, bodies, principles of its conduct of business, etc. The reason for the negative decision rested in the organization's statutes. It is stated there, for example, that the content of activity is to secure order, peace, and security; to act against unrest and acts of vandalism; to protect the property of citizens against thieves; to improve the morals [umravnovat] of those who are incorrigible; and to discipline them. Asked whether the ministry's verdict is final, D. Benesova said that, once the ruling has been delivered to it, the organization has the right to appeal against the decision with the Supreme Court of the Czech Republic.

Interior Minister on Expected USSR Refugees

LD2711171290 Prague CTK in English 1614 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos called at a press conference here today for a coordinated line to be pursued by Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary in regulation of the expected influx of refugees from the USSR.

The minister added that Czechoslovakia had already started to build refugee camps whose capacity will correspond with Czechoslovakia's economic possibilities.

According to Jan Langos, the westbound Soviet refugee influx can change the global situation and relations.

The minister paid great attention to the Czechoslovak Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy (Czechoslovak counterintelligence) which started to be built in the spring as a substitution for the state police (StB) but with a different orientation and structure, and a lower number of the staff. It is envisaged to exempt the office from the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior and pass special legislation on its activity. The office's tasks would include gathering evidence on the possible

use of force in asserting political goals and ensuring the observance of the rights of citizens and powers of public officials.

Langos announced at the press conference that he dismissed Jir Mueller, the office's director, today because he misinterpreted in parliament last week the conclusions from a consultative meeting with him which caused confusion and gradual disintegration of the office and resulted in the spread of misinformation. The minister did not conceal he and Mueller had disagreed on the concept of the office's activity. Jiri Mueller was put to the head of the office last July.

Listing the counterintelligence service's major tasks, Langos spoke especially about exposure of threats that might originate in foreign services and protection of what may be the subject of interest of these services.

The minister said that Czechoslovakia is interested in cooperation with intelligence services of some foreign states especially in the field of struggle against terrorism and drug trafficking.

Calfa To Visit FRG at Kohl's Invitation

LD2711113790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa will leave for Germany 29 November at the invitation of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He will hold talks with leading representatives of the country and representatives of German industrial and business circles. Representatives of both countries will also sign an agreement on youth exchanges.

Marian Calfa will travel from Bonn to Bavaria. Czechoslovakia is interested, above all, in economic cooperation with German, and above all Bavarian, border areas.

The GENERAL-ANZEIGER says it is the wish of the Bonn government for this regional cooperation to be extended also to the five new federal leaders.

Calfa Interviewed on Cooperation With France

AU2711124390

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 22 November on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,200-word interview with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa by VEREJNOST correspondents Jozef Uvacik and Gregor M. Papucsek. The interview, the date of which is not given, was conducted in Paris during Calfa's stay at the CSCE summit as a member of the CSFR delegation. The interview is said to be carried also by the French daily MERIDIONAL, which is published in Marseille. The interview is devoted to the prospects of Czechoslovakia's economic cooperation with France.

Calfa is first asked why Czechoslovakia's economy is oriented to cooperation with Germany, rather than with France. Calfa replies that the Germans were the first to discover the Czechoslovak market; that the German industry is "well-organized, aggressive, and entrepreneurial"; that Germany is Czechoslovakia's neighbor; and that more people in Czechoslovakia speak German than French. He asserts, however, that Czechoslovakia is building a market economy and that in a market economy those who come up with the better economic offer succeed. It is thus only up to French companies to come up with better offers and overtake the Germans. He stresses that the choice of economic partners will not be influenced by political considerations because "political influence in the economy is always harmful."

Next, Calfa discusses his talks in Paris with representatives of the French "Elf Aquitaine" oil company, reiterating what he said on this subject in recent interviews. He notes that the details of the French company's possible projects in Czechoslovakia will be discussed during a French Ministry of Industry delegation's talks in Prague on 23 November.

The prime minister goes on to mention a lunch which he had in Paris with representatives of French industry, including Raimond Levy, the president of Renault, and the presidents of large construction companies. Calfa says that he invited them to submit tenders for the construction of motorways in Slovakia (High Tatra-Presov, Trencin-Liptovsky Mikulas, and Trencin-Zilina). He adds: "It seems that they are interested but they want the motorways to be private so that they can make a profit. Why not? When the motorway is built, it will have to be paid for." The prime minister also mentions that the French industrialists showed great interest in Czechoslovakia and inquired about the balance of payments situation, the level of wages, banking, inflation, and other issues.

Meciar Meets Austria's Mock in Vienna

LD2611153190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Summary] [Announcer] The objective of the visit to Austria of the Slovak Republic delegation led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is clear: to expand Slovak-Austrain relations. A special part of the talks will be the proposal on broadening cooperation between Slovakia and Vienna and the federal land of Burgerland. Reporter Ivan Brozik reports.

[Brozik] Apart from a brief report on the result of our local elections, I did not find any mention in the Austrian press that the Slovak prime minister should visit the Austrian capital. Shortly after 1100 Vladimir Meciar was received at the Ministry of Foriegn Affairs, in the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs Alois Mock.

The Austrian foreign minister said he was surprised at the number of journalists who attended the reception and he also said that this was an evidence of the importance of the meeting. The prospects for our future mutual relations were then discussed behind closed doors. Vladimir Meciar is being received in Vienna

Town Hall right now. Afterwards he will attend a gala lunch given by the mayor of Vienna and visit the Vienna UN Center. Meanwhile, individual members of the Slovak delegation will hold bilateral talks with their counterparts. They will discuss, for example, the future of our nuclear power engineering and environment. These topics will be discussed by Ministers Tripak [chairman of the Environment Commission of the Slovak Government] and Flemming [Austrian minister for family, sports and environment].

Dienstbier Meets Finnish Counterpart on Europe

LD2711133390 Prague CTK in English 1303 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his Finnish counterpart Pertti Paasio described here today the development of bilateral relations as very positive.

The Finnish minister, currently on an official visit here, repeated the invitation for President Vaclav Havel and Jiri Dienstbier for a visit to Finland.

The two representatives discussed prospects in the economic sphere in Czechoslovakia's transition to a market economy as well as in the protection of the environment. They also dealt with the possibility of granting a credit to Czechoslovakia.

They also exchanged views on the situation in Europe and stressed the need for a joint procedure in the liquidation of the consequences of the confrontation policy between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. They also dealt with the Persian Gulf situation because Finland is a UN Security Council member and the Finnish foreign minister will participate in its Thursday's [29 Nov] session in New York which is expected to discuss a key resolution on the Gulf crisis.

Finance Minister Rabar Plans To Resign

LD2811083890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar made a statement to the daily VILAGGAZDASAG about his intention to resign.

In his justification, he said that when he took on the ministerial portfolio, they agreed that the Finance Ministry would work out the economy's long-term program, while the premiership's economic political secretariat—in other words, State Secretary Gyoergy Matolcsi and his team—would prepare the 100-day program.

Despite this, Gyoergy Matolcsi and his staff members have worked out a counterprogram, that is to say, they wanted to influence the long-term concepts.

In answering the question by VILAGGAZDASAG whether he had had enough of the tug-of-war within the government, Ferenc Rabar said: Whether Gyoergy Matolcsi stays or not, the finance minister will go.

Three-Year Economic Program Detailed

AU2711190990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Nov 90 pp 1, 6

[Correspondent's report: "Three-Year Economic Concepts—Will We Have It Better Next Year?"]

[Text] There is a chance that 1991 will be the economic low point; this conclusion could even be interpreted as an optimistic forecast. All we have to do is to somehow pull through the next year and preserve our solvency, our contacts with the Eastern European countries, while shifting to accounting in U.S. dollars, the level of domestic supply, and the standard of living as much as possible. If Hungary's leaders manage the next year successfully, one will also be able to see some hope in the government's three-year economic program in the years to come. True, many of us will feel this in the heavier burdens of next year. Hereby, we inform the readers about the general conclusions of this three-year economic program....

According to this program, the government does not want a form of shock therapy, but there is no way of postponing the unpopular decisions. Beginning next year, therefore, the government will start reevaluating its roles and tasks, and the result of this reevaluation will probably be more burdens on every individual. The government will try to somehow compensate for this extra burden only in the case of very poor people and large families.

Let us examine the beginning situation: The inherited overall debt of about $20 billion will determine and limit our economic activity between 1991 and 1993. Servicing our debt will amount to $3.5 billion annually, including $1.5 billion in interest. This makes up five percent of GDP [gross domestic product]. The change in accounting in our trade with Eastern Europe could lead to a 50-percent drop in Hungarian exports in 1991, compared to 1989. Furthermore, the Hungarian economy will also register a loss of $1.5 billion in this area, as a result of restructuring and a deterioration in terms of trade. The high oil prices and the heaviest drought in decades make our start even more difficult. All these things represent an unprecedented challenge for the Hungarian economy, except perhaps the damage incurred to our economy in World War II.

The aforementioned losses cannot be counterbalanced in a single year. The experts who prepared the program think that—partly by making use of the accumulated U.S. dollar debt owed to us by the Soviet Union—the deficit in our balance of payments could reach $1.5 billion in 1991 (this year, the balance of payments will be positive); in 1992, we could finance a deficit of $800-900 million, and by 1993, we must reach a balance in our current balance of payments. For this, we can have a $400-500 million deficit in our trade balance in 1991, but we will need a $200-million foreign trade surplus by 1992 and a $900-million foreign trade surplus by 1993.

On the one hand, the implementation of a social market economy opens up new prospects; on the other, all of this temporarily involves a lot of sacrifices, as the program points out. Although the program foresees long-term improvement in the standard of living and living conditions of the population, it does not promise the same in the short term. On the contrary; the development of a venture-oriented economic atmosphere which can accelerate the creation of efficient and marketable ventures continues to be the main goal. Private property will become the center of our economic policy, and privatization will be accelerated up to rational limits. Preserving our solvency, slowing down inflation, stabilizing the forint, and liberalizing the production factors and prices are well-known and often repeated goals. The three-year economic program list these goals anew and details them all.

Central Statistical Office on Investment

AU2711191790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Nov 90 p 6

["(F.B.)"-signed report: "Investments Have Dropped"]

[Text] A recent press release by the Central Statistical Office points out that investments dropped during the first half of 1990. At the same time, during this period, private and small businesses took out three times more credit than in 1989, and 90 percent of these credits were long-term credits.

In 1989, in the whole Hungarian economy, 340 billion forints were spent on investments, which is 17 percent more than the amount spent in 1988. Compared to that, during the first half of 1990, the value of new investments only reached 44 percent of the total amount invested during the first half of 1989.

During the first half of 1990, the financial situation of enterprises continued to deteriorate; parallel to that, enterprises continued to take large amounts of credit. During this period, investment credits rose by 2.4 percent, short-term credits on floating assets rose by 15.9 percent, and credits on floating assets with a maturity of more than one year rose by 10.8 percent. Private and small businesses took out over 259 percent more credits during the first half of 1990, and almost 70 percent of these credits had a maturity of more than one year. Who financed investment expenses? During the first half of 1990, state support in the sphere of company investments dropped by 18 percent. On the other hand, commercial banks and financial institutions raised their available credits by 43.2 percent, compared to the first half of 1989.

It is interesting to observe the development of investment amounts in various branches. During the first half of 1990, the proportion of industry continued to grow, but the proportion of agriculture dropped sharply. A slight increase was observed in the telecommunications and transport investment area.

According to data published in August, so far, the amount spent on large-scale investments hardly exceeds one-third of the amount spent during the same period in 1989. Investments initiated by companies and councils, however, have shown a slight increase. During the first half of 1990, we made more use of credits from the World Bank than we did in 1989. Indeed, in 1989, credits from the World Bank covered 21.1 percent of our investment payments, but during the first half of 1990, they had already covered 41.9 percent of our investment payments. We also used these credits to finance 40.1 percent of our own resources, and 17.4 percent of our investment credits. There are presently 16 World Bank program packages in operation. During the first half of 1990, among these programs, we placed particular emphasis on the program focussing on integrated livestock farming, animal processing, and the modernization of the agricultural industry.

Given that nowadays public attention is focusing on environmental protection, it would be worthwhile to note that in 1990, the Environmental Protection Fund had 123.5 million forints at its disposal. At the same time, the investments that have already been initiated absorb 127.5 million forints, not to mention the investments that are to be initiated this year. Yet the gap has to be filled somehow....

Antall Asked About Proposed Government Changes

LD2711163790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1408 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Exchange between Alliance of Free Democrats Deputy Gaspar Miklos Tamas and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at the National Assembly Session—live]

[Text] [Tamas] Mr. Chairman, Esteemed House, Mr. Prime Minister. Because this is an important question, I would like, even at this point, to dispel all misunderstandings in connection with my interpellation. When we enacted our Constitution, the Hungarian National Assembly created a structure which very clearly separated the legislative and executive powers. It placed a great deal of power in your hands, Mr. Prime Minister. I agree with this structure; I myself voted at the time for the appropriate clauses. For precisely this reason, I am aware that you have complete freedom of action, you transform your government as you wish, and no one really has a say in this.

I believe that you have no legal obligation to reply to my question. The justification for my questions is the political situation, whose assessment we received in your most recent speech; furthermore, since then, it has become clear that the country's political leadership has become unstable. The government's handling of the economic crisis is not taking place amid clear, programmatic frameworks. In addition, it is also clear that since you have announced that you will reshuffle your government, the ministers have perhaps grown uncertain regarding their positions and obviously cannot work on resolving the economic problems with the energy that would be expected. It can also be learned that there is no unity between them, regarding which I should like to cite the following illustration. Your close colleague, State Secretary Matolcsy, said the following in the 22 November issue of NAPI VILAGGAZDASAG, on the government's economic and budget program. He said: It is tentatively taking steps in the right direction. This is what one of the members of this government says: It postpones necessary steps, and thus is missing the historical chance for accelerating the transition.

Here, I shall go back to the first question: What has happened in the past two weeks? He said: A debate of economic philosophy has been decided so that the positions were sharply divided in advance. On this, he said: We state that if we enliven the Hungarian private enterprises, mixed enterprises, and so on—elements containing this were rejected by government in the past two weeks—then in 1991, this sector will be able to offset the shock effects raining down on the economy. It follows from this, perhaps, that I do not share the Ministry of Finance's views on the narrowing down of the economy.

All this suggests that there really are problems, and the fact that the budget law is not yet in front of us is undoubtedly a cautionary sign. For this reason, we would welcome it if a renewed government, which was confident in its own future, were able to set to work energetically on the necessary tasks.

So, my questions are as follows—as you may be aware from the written versions—and I shall only read out the more important ones: Does the Prime Minister plan to transform the structure of government and, if so, based on what concept? Second, in the leadership of which ministries does he plan changes and roughly how many

state secretaries are expected to leave? Third, does he plan to distribute the ministries among the various coalition parties? Fourth, has he already held talks with his coalition partners, and with the Hungarian Democratic Forum, on the government reshuffle?

I believe that open politicizing requires the National Assembly and the country to be informed about this, because, as I have mentioned, in our country's current situation a united government which is able to act is an indispensable condition for us finally to emerge from the threatening uncertainty. In the hope of this, I await your specific answer. Thank you.

[Antall] Mr. Chairman, Esteemed House. Tamas Gaspar Miklos—if I may be allowed inconsistency in saying your name thus—has asked questions which really require responsible replies. Regarding the openness of politics, he already valued this highly in the statement by State Secretary Matolcsy. As a result, he can see that the internal debates—precisely because the country is facing a serious situation—are based on very tough internal discussions. We take these into account in every case, and we shall place the budget before the house by the promised deadline.

This pertains to the first part of the question. As for the second part, I can only reply with all respect—to the questions that were posed by Deputy Gaspar Miklos Tamas and that were addressed to the philosopher and to the good-humored politician—that I wish to avail myself of the provisions of the second paragraph of Clause 59 of the Standing Orders, according to which I shall give my reply in writing within 30 days [laughter, followed by applause]

Antall States Views on Domestic Problems

AU2611142590 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Nov 90 p 8

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Georg Paul Hefty in Budapest; date not given: "Of Course, the Government Must Be Restructured"]

[Text] Budapest, 22 November—The conclusions drawn by the Antall government from the so-called taxi crisis show better than the events in the last few October days how incisive this crisis was for the young Hungarian democracy. Again, it is the prime minister who has been the most courageous to talk about his realizations and responsibilities in this respect, whereas other politicians of the government coalition have tried to downplay the danger and the tasks; furthermore, spokesmen for the opposition have energetically denied that they are also partly to blame for the situation.

"The crisis in Hungary has abruptly ended a period of time when every party thought and acted according to election campaign categories. Parliamentary elections in May were followed by the referendum in July, which again was followed by local elections. The campaigns influenced common sense. The political parties were no longer able to consider that our most important task was to restructure our country, and not to show off. Politicians had become exhibitionists. The parliament did not see itself as a working platform, but as a stage of new spectacles. It was necessary to put an end to this period of time. That was done quite dramatically." In his interview with FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, however, Antall stresses that "the government has, of course, worked consistently."

He adds that the crisis has led to structural clarifications. For the prime minister, the catchword is "legitimacy." The conduct of all political parties in parliament is determined by the old opposition reflexes to a party oligarchy. The five parties originating from opposition to communist party rule were unable to give up the idea that they had to be in opposition to the government and the former government party. The latter, the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), the successor of the former omnipotent Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP), therefore, not only struggled with the problem of finding its own identity, it also struggled for being recognized as a democratic party, particularly in parliament. "The position of the Socialist Party, however, is also clear now. We do not need to differentiate between the six parties anymore." With these words, Antall, who is also the chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, also grants the Socialist Party "legitimacy."

The chief of government says that the taxi crisis has had far-reaching effects on the bodies representing social interests. He says that not only is a social partnership emerging, but there is also a new structure taking shape within the respective groups. "A month ago, I noted that the associations mutually disputed their legitimacy. When we met with one of them, a parallel association said that this representative was not authorized to conduct negotiations because he had collaborated with the old regime. Owing to the taxi crisis, this has totally changed." When the crisis ended, the former Chamber of Commerce—comprising a large part of the state-run enterprises, the National Federation of (Private) Entrepreneurs, and the National Federation of Industrialists—sat together at a table, as did the representatives of the workers, the old Association of Hungarian Trade Unions under Sandor Nagy, together with the National Association of Workers' Councils which are linked with the 1956 revolution, and the young League of Free Trade Unions. "They all sat together on the new council representing social interests, without calling each other into question; they mutually recognized their legitimacy," said Antall and he claimed that the government has always been interested in a partner who is able to negotiate. He added that the government recognizes the council on which it is permanently represented by a state secretary.

The prime minister says that the taxi strike definitely violated the law, even though political reasons can also be given as an explanation. He says that the three

coalition parties have made constitutionally unobjectionable statements. Regarding the opposition parties, the chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) made unconstitutional statements, the Hungarian Socialist Party commented similarly, and only the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) commented in a constitutionally acceptable way. "We, therefore, consider FIDESZ, which is one of the government's sharpest critics, an opposition party meeting the standards of Western European and U.S. liberalism. That is a new element."

Is Antall about to mentally draft a new coalition? The prime minister, who has much freedom of action within his party because he is the only one ready to bear the whole political responsibility, says: "I still do not think that Hungary needs to have a great coalition of the Forum and the Free Democrats. A government in which both parties cooperate is inconceivable because their traditions, their style, and their goals are too different." As if anticipating the argument that there are bourgeois and open-minded persons in both parties, Antall adds: "Of course, as is so often the case, the centers of the respective parties are much closer to the centers of the other parties than they are to the extremist wings of their own parties."

The largest challenge—and possibly even threat—to the young Hungarian democracy is the citizens' increasing political abstention, not only in elections. How does Antall intend to confront this issue, given the fact that the structures are not yet very stable, and the new system is not yet firmly anchored, as it is in Western democracies? "In this country, no political party is deeply rooted; former parties were not deeply rooted either. In Hungary, it is not the party organizations, but the orientations that are deeply rooted. In the old democracies, families have been loyal to a party for generations, and irrespective of the quality of their current leadership, the parties have an established following. That does not exist in our country. Here, new parties are founded every decade, which try to exploit the trends prevailing in public opinion—the Christian democratic, the national, and the European orientations, the urbane liberal, and the social democratic liberal orientations."

Antall believes that the people's passive attitude is the result of the consistent depoliticizing policy pursued by [International Economics Relations Minister] Kadar, which pushed the citizens into private life in an un-Leninist manner by encouraging consumption. "Ten years ago, the people were not interested in Transylvania or the situation of the minorities. Neither the nation nor Europe were subjects taught in school."

Consequently, the people did not realize that they had spent the credits on which Kadar's consumption communism was based which was highly praised in the West, nor did they realize that the Communists opened up an opportunity for change because the country was bankrupt. "The people, therefore, believed that following the change, the situation would instantly be as it is in Austria, for instance." The taxi crisis opened their eyes. "The people realized that we are in a deep crisis; the West has also seen that Hungary is not a model garden where restructuring could be carried out smoothly. The West has realized that Hungary needs specific help. We had informed the Western governments, the EC, and the World Bank in advance." The chief of government is by no means one of those who always waits for the good to come from above; on the other hand, he does not like to expound petty details, most of which are intended to impress the listener. Even though in governing he reserves the right of the final say on many things, he acts primarily on his responsibility for setting political guidelines.

"It is a foregone conclusion that the government must now be restructured. We must use the experiences of governing that have been made. In addition, the political parties will have a different attitude toward the government. All parties must restore their self-confidence, which will allow them to approach the people better and to broaden their following. The bodies representing interests must reorganize themselves, and the prestige of the parliament must be repaired because nothing less is at stake than parliamentarism. The government, the parliament, and the parties must cooperate more closely, and they must prevent the emergence of any type of extremism. There is always extremism—in all countries."

Can all this be easily implemented, or does it require a new constitution? Antall, who, according to his doctors has contracted a non-Hodgkin lymphogranuloma, and not leukemia as Western news agencies have reported, does not dodge an additional effort. "The valid Constitution is based on the Constitution of 1949. The roundtable last year modified it so much that, strictly speaking, a new constitution was created. I was a member of the constitutional committee at that time myself; however, there are gaps and uncertainties regarding interpretation. I think we can work with this Constitution. By the end of this election period, the final Hungarian Constitution must be worked out. Then, the next parliamentary elections scheduled to be held in four years—I am confident that these elections do not have to be moved up—should be held on the basis of the new Constitution."

Defense Ministry Official Views Budget Cuts

LD2511215790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 90

[Interview with Antal Annus, adminstrative state secretary in the Defense Ministry, and Imre Mecs, Alliance of Free Democrats deputy, by unidentified reporter, with introduction by announcer; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The extraordinary session of the Council of Minsters may still be going on now. [passage omitted] The government has to reduce enormous sums to acceptable levels. Thrift applies to virtually every area

in our changing world, and no less to defense. As we read the other day, however, instead of the 61.5 billion forints requested by the Defense Ministry, the government proposed a 42.5-billion budget for the coming year. According to the experts, however, this puts a question mark on the Army's ability to function.

[Reporter] It is a curious contradiction of interests: Hungary's defense and the reduction of military expenditures. According to some opinions, the surrounding countries are militarily much stronger than we are. In that case, what kind of defense concept can we discuss?

[Annus] A defense concept which at the level of sufficient defense guarantees the country that it will be able to shore up its independence, its sovereignty, credibly, credibly also in this sense, that if in the final result political and other means are not sufficient and it is not possible to avoid such a situation—because the maximum effort ought to be aimed at this [sentence as heard]. Furthermore, it is necessary to avoid such situations, and then this armed force will show others in a credible way that it is not worth committing aggression against our country. It would cause too many sacrifices. As the last resort, this defense, this armed force, has to secure sufficient time for the possibility of political steps to be taken from every possible direction.

[Mecs] I think that the Army is merely a part of our defense doctrine. Many other efforts have to form a much bigger part of it—first and foremost foreign political efforts, internal political efforts, friendship with neighboring countries, and cooperation. These things always weigh much more in the balance. We agree that we need an army guaranteeing a minimal but suifficient defense, which, fitted into our international defense doctrine and security systems, can guarantee the country's sovereignty. On the other hand, however, we also have to take into account the fact that the country's economy is in an extremely bad situation. Every citizen and every organization will have to make many sacrifices in the near future—material sacrifices—and defense, no matter how important it is, cannot be left out of this either.

[Reporter] Have the numbers in the Army greatly declined?

[Annus] The membership in the Army has decreased from nearly 106,000 to only 80,000 soldiers. What this means, on the other hand, is that the quality should be improved, not only in the officers but also in military technology.

[Reporter] Is there money for this?

[Annus] Taking into acount the inflationary factor, which could be 30 percent or perhaps even more, according to some, and also taking into accounut the fact that in connection with the transition to dollar accounting, we will have to pay more than three times the present prices for the various indispensable spare parts and repairs obtained from the Soviet Union and elsewhere; this could be a budget of around 60 billion forints. Recognizing precisely those difficulties about which Imre Mecs was also talking, which are real difficulties, the decision must be made that the Hungarian Army will have to be even smaller than planned. Even if disarmament also affects the professional staff to a significant extent, therefore, it will definitely call for further billions, which this budget in no way includes. The government would also have to be able to find these expenditures somewhere.

[Reporter] Where will this disarmament stop? In other words, what is the bottom number?

[Annus] This number will in practice have to be determined now, when it has been decided how much the defense budget will be. This is now....

[Reporter, interrupting] Eighty thousand? How much?

[Annus] The numbers in the Hungarian Army presently total just under 80,000. This is almost 40,000 fewer than two years ago.

[Reporter] Are we going to stop there?

[Annus] We cannot stop. Depending on the budget, it is possible that we will have to go beyond the original reduction.

[Reporter] How much is that?

[Annus] At the moment it is not possible to say, because we do not even know how much we will be getting for the forint. There is a wide area of compromise; within this, first and foremost, the government has to compromise. The proportions of the budget will have to be determined within the government, among the portfolios; after that, the parliament, or rather the parliamentary committee, can deal with it. We can only say initially that those amounts which Defemse Minister Lajos Fur requested earlier—that is, the 75 billion [forints]—can certainly not be met; on the other hand, the current year's amount, the 40 billion, is definitely not enough. The compromise will have to be found between these two figures. The problem is that we have to change the system both in doctrine and fact in the Armed Forces' background. Until now we have been a full part of the Warsaw Pact; we had to adapt to the armed force of the Soviet Union. This brought with it many complications and will do so in the future as well. We have to make a change. Now, as a matter of fact, the Army will need more money than usual to perform its tasks. On the other hand, however, we have to say and we have to see that there can be no question of a significant development this year, only of a minimum extent of development; furthermore, we would set as the main target only that the Army has to guarantee and salvage its skilled human material.

[Reporter] Up to now, though, the country did have a sense of security because we belonged to the Warsaw Pact. No matter what might have happened, there was still the possibility—the Soviet Army was here, in other words—it would defend us.

[Annus] I do not agree with you that we would have been secure. We were secure against a fictitious enemy, who, on the other hand, was afraid of us. It is common knowledge, is it not, that within NATO our enemy was Italy, and it was Italy that we would have had to confront and fight. The armed system also evolved in such a way, and the weapons were located—or to use a military term, dislocated—in a way which would allow us to fight against this imagined enemy. The Soviet Army stationed here did not and does not offer any security whatsoever against any other kind of attack, which I would actually like to totally exclude from these speculations.

I believe it is very important that the Soviet Army should leave, and it is very important that Hungary should find her full security within a united European security system. Until then, however, this has to be created with neighboring countries through bilateral agreements and measures which strengthen our confidence. The neighboring countries are in a similar or worse economic situation than us. It is also in their primary interest to think in exactly the same way. This would have to be recognized and they would have to be informed of this as well—that we are in the same boat and we ought to reduce, together and mutually, our expenditures in this direction. In that case the atmosphere of trust will also be strengthened and we can stabilize our security at a lower level.

Goncz Appoints MTI Director, Editor in Chief

LD2711232390 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—At the proposal of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, president of the Republic of Hungary, Arpad Goncz appointed Otto Oltvanyi as the director general of the Hungarian news agency MTI. At the same time, the government appointed Dezso Kopreda for the post of editor-in-chief of MTI. Both mandates are for two years.

The new leaders of MTI took their oath of office in front of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in parliament on Tuesday.

Otto Oltvanyi's Biography

Oltvanyi was born in Debrecen in 1925. He graduated from the Faculty of Law of Debrecen University in 1949. He started his career of journalism at the daily DEBRECZEN, where he worked until the paper was banned in 1951.

He was the Debrecen correspondent of the Hungarian news agency MTI for two decades, up to 1971. Up to 1977, he was the Vienna correspondent of MTI and afterwards, he held the same post in Bucharest, until 1982. Upon his return to Hungary, he was appointed as deputy editor-in-chief of MTI's home policy department. In 1987, he became Bucharest correspondent again, working there until recently.

Oltvanyi won the contest advertised for the post of director general. He speaks German, English and Romanian. He has never belonged to any political party.

Dezso Kopreda's Biography

Kopreda was born in Budapest in 1940. He graduated from the Faculty of Arts of the Budapest Eotvos Lorand University, as a teacher of Hungarian and Russian language and literature.

He started his career in the foreign affairs department of MTI. Beside being an MTI correspondent on several occasions in different places covering various events, he was MTI's correspondent in Bucharest for three years and in Belgrade for another three.

In 1985, he was appointed as the editor-in-chief of the Foreign Affairs Department. He speaks English, French, Russian, Romanian and Serbo-Croatian.

From 1965, he was a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, then the Hungarian Socialist Party. He does not belong to any political organization now.

Problems Noted in Relations With Romania

LD2111231990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 20 Nov 90

[Interview with reporter Peter Marvanyi by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry issued a statement yesterday on why the Bucharest discussions of department State Secretary Imre Szokai were unsuccessful. As is known, the Romanian partner was not willing to discuss either the minority question or the question of refugees.

A statement was also issued in Romania claiming this was the responsibility of the Hungarian partner. My colleague, Peter Marvanyi, arrived in the Romanian capital only a few hours ago after a six-month absence. You are going to hear from him.

[Marvanyi] There is a very strange movement here, which the Hungarian colony—the Hungarian diplomats here in Bucharest—noted with some bitterness—namely, the accusation that Imre Szokai arrived here with the direct intention of not wanting to sign the document. According to the Romanian version, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry deputy state secretary misled President Iliescu, because he managed to have the Romanian president receive him; he also misled the Romanian Foreign Ministry, the foreign office apparatus, and the Romanian people by not really wanting to sign anything at all.

[Reporter] He was delivering a message to President Iliescu with a proposal for a summit meeting.

[Marvanyi] Yes. I think this proposal rather surprised President Iliescu. There is somewhat ambiguous wording in the communique—namely, that President Iliescu

rejected the Hungarian offer in connection with the Temesvar [Timisoara] commemorations. The Hungarian offer was that the two presidents would meet at Temesvar, on the first anniversary of the events that erupted there.

[Reporter] What other things did you see in Bucharest? The National Salvation Front [FSN] has also recently criticized Prime Minister Petre Roman, and there were demonstrations against the government; these demonstrations were not organized by the FSN, but the FSN organized counterdemonstrations. What can be seen from these now?

[Marvanyi] There was a demonstration this afternoon as well, which is not surprising news; these are rather frequent in Bucharest. This demonstration was, in fact, two demonstrations. The FSN organized a mass meeting at the Square of Pilots, and the participants moved through the town toward Viktoria Square. This demonstration, at the scene of the mass meeting and during the march through the town, was flanked—I could express it in this way—by an anti-Iliescu demonstration as well.

Iliescu Proposes 9 Dec Meeting With Goncz

LD2211193790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Text] The Romanian head of state would like to meet the Hungarian president this year. The Foreign Ministry spokesman in Bucharest announced that Iliescu could hold talks with President Goncz on 9 December. The spokesman said that the Romanians proposed that, if possible, a Hungarian-Romanian summit should take place before the Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Pact planned for 9 December. As already known, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall himself said that the Warsaw Pact meeting in Budapest would not be held on 9 December, but the Romanian spokesman had nothing to say on this.

Announcement of Government Resignation Viewed

Jaruzelski Reacts to Decision

LD2711143790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] What has been the president's reaction to Tadeusz Mazowiecki's decision on the government's resignation?

A PAP reporter addressed the question to the president's spokesman Wlodzimierz Lozinski, and heard in reply: The president received the news with understanding, but at the same time with sadness arising from the involvement of the present government in the process of social and economic reforms, which had just been initiated and the implementation of which should not be halted, says the spokesman.

The president asked Tadeusz Mazowiecki to continue as the head of the government until a new candidate can be put forward by a newly elected president and confirmed by the Sejm. The prime minister agreed, and expressed it in Monday's [26 Nov] statement. Thus, there is no provisional situation in Poland. The government continues to perform its duties.

When could a change of prime minister take place?

It could take place after the election of a new president and after the president takes an oath before the national assembly. I think it could happen sometime around Christmas as, in accordance with the Constitution, proposing a candidate for prime minister should be the first act by the new president.

The spokesman said that President Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed deep conviction that in the difficult moment the whole nation would maintain dignity and calm in the interest of the state.

Sejm Speaker Views Announcement

LD2711193890 Warsaw PAP in English 1742 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 27—Asked to comment on the prime minister's announcement on the government resignation, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz said: "To us, the fact that he did it at that moment came as a slightly emotional decision. It seems that this could have been delayed without detriment to the cause till a new president is elected, and then the prospective resignation of either the prime minister or the cabinet would have been more obvious.

"What happened created a problem for us. There are nearly two weeks till a new president is elected. Then it will take the Supreme Court one week to examine possible complaints and protests linked with the elections. And then a new president could be sworn in. Next, he will be able to present his candidate for the prime ministerial post while the Sejm—to appoint a prime minister who, on his part, will need time to announce his programme and cabinet. And this will probably last till the end of December at the shortest.

"[The] state budget is the most important problem. The government is expected to present a draft budget on November 30. Obviously, state budget provides the framework for activities of a future government. It is not possible to work out a provisional budget now. There is simply no time for that.

"Concerning the presidential elections, politicians should draw a conclusion that the acceleration needs caution. It does not mean that the dissolution of the Sejm should be delayed. The Sejm should be dissolved when it passes all necessary bills. The government have planned twenty-nine bills to be passed till December 29. At present, we will decide which of them should be passed first. The Sejm, as practically the only authority now, must work better, not worse," Kozakiewicz said.

Mazowiecki Informs Jaruzelski of Resignation

LD2711151490 Warsaw PAP in English 1248 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 27—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today paid a visit to Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski, informing the president about his plan to tender resignation of his Council of Ministers to the Sejm speaker.

Pacewicz Examines Tyminski's Election Success

AU2811135290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26 Nov 90 p 1

[Piotr Pacewicz commentary: "Stan 'Drugiej Polski'" (headline includes pun on word "Stan"; headline can mean either "The Condition of the 'Other Poland'" or "Stan's 'Other Poland'")]

[Text] The results are unequivocal: Stan Tyminski's success was ensured by the inhabitants of the countryside and medium-sized towns as well as by workers and young voters.

For a long time now, public opinion polls have shown the a split of this kind was emerging. We once described it as the "two Polands." It was apparent that the "other Poland"—the Poland of the uneducated and of the inhabitants of smaller towns—does not understand the reforms, does not accept the sacrifices, and no longer supports the government.

The "other Poland" did not see a place for itself in a "Solidarity" Poland.

The "other Poland" did not go to vote in the local government elections.

I thought that the "other Poland" would back Walesa, but I made a mistake (and I was not the only one). Were it not for Tyminski, then it would no doubt have not gone to a vote at all.

In Tyminski, they found someone who symbolized their hostility toward the "Solidarity" state. He is someone who is "clean," someone from outside the setup in which memories of communism coalesced with hardships of radical reform. He is someone who has come from the world of success, from America, and does not belong to the world of politics.

The extent of the "other Poland's" hostility took us by surprise. This hostility turned out to be so great that—as in the days of communism—press reports denouncing Tyminski backfired. They were probably perceived in the same way as attacks launched by communist propaganda used to be: If they are heaping that kind of abuse on our candidate that makes him all the more credible.

We are faced with a new situation: The "other Poland" has spoken out publicly. The myth of "our state" has been demolished.

Tyminski Discusses Accusations With Media

AU2611143390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Nov 90 p 2

[Unsigned report: "Tyminski's Press Conference—Is Poland About To Become the Laughingstock of the World?"]

[Text] "What I said was straight from the heart. I expressed it as best I could," replied Stan Tyminski, when asked if his absurd statements on the sale prices of enterprises (according to Tyminski it is "proof" of Mazowiecki's betrayal of the nation), was made with the specific intention of duping the public or was a result of his poor command of the Polish language.

Pressed by journalists on the figures he used in his television interview on Monday, claiming them to be the incredibly low sale prices of enterprises and not the sale of the annual production of these enterprises, Tyminski said that he could present whatever figures he liked.

Asked to cite the passage from the "Direction for Privatization" document, a passage which he claims states that most of the Polish enterprises are to be sold off to foreign capital, Tyminski replied that he had no time to look for it.

He denied that he had ever been a Security Service functionary or that he had regular contacts with the former Polish People's Republic's consulate in Canada. These were also some of the questions that were put to him during the course of the press conference. He confirmed that he had never heard of the Colombian drug cartel in Medellin, let alone have any contacts with it.

It was pointed out to him several times that he was a total unknown among the Canadian and American Poles. He replied that he had not had any contact with any representatives of these Polish groups, nor for that matter with Canadian political, social, or trade union institutions. "I had no need to contact them," he replied.

After some intense questioning, the journalists were able to establish that the gross annual turnover of Tyminski's Canadian company was in the region of $500,000.

Tyminski's Defamation of Mazowiecki Criticized

AU2111122990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Nov 90 p 2

[Krystyna Chrupkowa commentary: "Slander"]

[Text] Whoever chooses to go into politics consciously exposes all his actions to judgment by the public. So, he can expect severe and even disparaging or unjustified criticism of his person and conduct. That is the price that has to be paid for being in the limelight. There are, however, limits to that price which are clearly defined by law and accepted standards of political conduct. These limits are overstepped when the person who is voicing criticism does not address the substance of the issues involved, but is concerned solely with abusing his rivals.

Stan Tyminski, who accused his rival Tadeusz Mazowiecki of "treason," announced to all of Poland that the prime minister had committed an act that is defined as a crime by the criminal code. It is nonsensical to take issue with this kind of insinuation. It does, on the other hand, make sense to state that this constitutes a clear case of criminal defamation, as set out in Article 178, Paragraph 2 of the Criminal Code. It was a public dissemination of information that would disgrace the head of any government. Thus, Tyminski's statement is impermissible in any civilized country. It is an act of defamation intended to discredit the person with the public and to make him lose necessary confidence. To ask about the purpose of the insinuation one week before the race for the presidency is really quite fatuous....

Tyminski has not furnished one piece of evidence for the crime allegedly committed by the prime minister, and has not even attempted to do so.

If there is no evidence—well, then everything has to be retracted by barking. There was a time in Poland's past when slanderers had to retract their statements by climbing under a table and then undergoing the humiliating experience of having to bark like a dog in full view of a crowd of onlookers.

* Tyminski on Economic, Political Program

91EP0110A Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 10-11 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with presidential candidate Stanislaw Tyminski by Jacek Lindner; place and date not given: "I Stand for the Economy"]

[Text] Stanislaw Tyminski, a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic of Poland, is the man who has recently gained the greatest publicity in Poland. As late as two months ago he was an unknown but now his appearances at hustings attract thousands of people.

[Lindner] In your program you propose that Poland declare a war against the world, an economic war.

[Tyminski] We must declare it because for a long time now a silent war has been waged against us. Nowadays military actions in the style of World War II are no longer feasible owing to the mighty nuclear arsenals. Nowadays, instead, the strong conquer the territories of the weak by means of economic expansion. Even now we are a victim of economic aggression from the East and the West. Those countries are waging war with the support of their governments, whereas we keep retreating to one line of defense after another. It is time to put an end to this, and this should be done by the government.

[Lindner] You are proposing that we wage a guerrilla struggle. What does this mean?

[Tyminski] Given our present economic situation we cannot afford large-scale campaigns. We cannot reply with an equally massed attack. I therefore propose conquering small areas that would be our bridgeheads in the West.

[Lindner] But the West is strong and not likely to have any weak spots.

[Tyminski] It has them. The weakest spot of all is its prosperity, which has caused its decay, excessive faith in its own strength, and indolence. They are incapable of effort, because they have been frontrunners in the race for so many years. Now the times are different, favoring those who gallop from behind.

[Lindner] On page 61 of your book, "Swiete psy" [Sacred Dogs], you group together Lenin, Jaruzelski, and Walesa, calling them socialists.

[Tyminski] I do not deny this, because none of these gentlemen have given any advice on how people and the state can earn any money. And please believe me when I say that the point is not to attack them personally but that the main concern of these gentlemen has been how to divide up money, of which there was little, rather than how to multiply it. After all, for the last one and one-half, Mr. Walesa could greatly....

[Lindner] Your book as well as the comments you make elsewhere claim that a poor man cannot be free.

[Tyminski] But that is a truism as old as the world. If a person cannot satisfy his basic needs, he is automatically liable to be likewise unable to release his creative potential. Afterward, that being the normal chain of consequences, his spiritual and intellectual potential and health deteriorate. This is followed by a state of depression. Please consider the Polish people and wonder whether we have not already attained this last stage. Here let me again refer to Walesa and Mazowiecki. They both could have exploited that enthusiasm of June 1989 [the first free elections], but the wasted that opportunity.

[Lindner] Nearly all of your program is concerned with economics, and very little with politics.

[Tyminski] I have seen something of the world and I notice that politics is a big topic only in poor countries. It is a kind of substitute food for the destitute. In rich societies politics is even something that is a bit embarrassing, and money is the big topic. For this very reason I emphasize the economy, so as to stimulate and tap our creative potential, which is bound to bring us success.

We must overcome this passivity, which is still being skillfully reinforced by a government propaganda that keeps finding reasons for scaring the public. We must free ourselves from it and commence acting creatively, which produces evident benefits.

[Lindner] Do you believe that we have a chance to catch up with the world before this century is over?

[Tyminski] If I did not believe it I would not be a presidential candidate. There is a need for a wise government that would enable the highly capable Polish society to unfold its wings.

[Lindner] Let me ask you something about foreign policy. How do you explain your visit to the USSR Embassy? It was negatively viewed by many circles.

[Tyminski] That was a very important visit as part of my campaign, and one made besides at the wish of my voters. I have been asked so many times about my attitude toward the USSR, because many of my fellow presidential candidates display evident ill will toward that country. And yet properly aligned cooperation with that big power could produce huge economic benefits for us. Currently our farmers are worrying because their crops may begin to rot, whereas in the East there is not enough food. Is not this therefore an opportunity to make a profit? But that is just one of many possibilities. Besides, that was an opportunity to present my program, and the several hundred guests at that embassy event included the United States ambassador.

[Lindner] What would you say as a candidate to the quarter-million readership of GLOS WYBRZEZA?

[Tyminski] My campaign slogan is, "If you cannot elect the best, elect the least bad one."

[Lindner] Thank you for the interview.

* Tyminski's Platform Outlined in Paid Ad

91EP0111A Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No. 46, 17 Nov 90 p 6

[Paid political advertisement, dated 26 Oct 90: "Stanislaw Tyminski, Independent Candidate for President: Economic Program Thesis, November 1990"]

[Text] Poland's situation requires a new program. I believe that my program will unleash this country's economic potential and unite us to this end.

My vision of the future serves to obliterate the differences between the left, the right, and the center. My plan is a result of the knowledge and experience which I had gained in Poland, Sweden, Canada, the United States, and Peru. In recent years I have been often traveling to Poland. I am quite familiar with my native land and its problems. The present situation is a replay of what I had already once before witnessed in Peru several years ago. This replay is beginning after a year of economic plans which choke off inflation but afford no possibilities for growth. I am aware of how that replay ends and I can tell you about it. I do not want this to repeat itself in my Fatherland.

I am familiar with the saying that anyone can make a mistake once and learn not to repeat it, and that it is wrong to make the same mistake twice. In Poland output had dropped by more than 30 percent in 1980. Ten years later this situation is repeating itself. Let us not allow output to decline by another 30 percent next year.

I am fully aware that the President nowadays is burdened by special duties and, as a candidate for the President of the Republic of Poland, I am presenting my program.

1. In the present crisis it is the duty of the President to require of the Government a strategy for economic growth that would afford an opportunity for competing on international markets.

2. It is the paramount duty of the President nowadays to invigorate the Spirit of the Nation and to sense threats to economic and territorial sovereignty.

3. On the international arena I desire to display the will to surmount the crisis and to support all initiatives for promoting the growth of our Fatherland. Poland's reputation is declining owing to dissension, internal quarrels, and unnecessary emotions. This is a major obstacle to the growth of investments. As President I shall try to win the trust of Poles who live abroad.

4. It is the duty of the President to appreciate the historic role of the Catholic Church. Times of great change have to be buttressed by spiritual values.

5. Our country must show respect for all national minorities. This is a prerequisite for Poland's becoming part of the world economy.

6. Reconstruction and development hinge on the labor of citizens. I aspire toward a system under which the value of the labor of each will be appreciated.

7. The assurance of a life of dignity and help for the needy is my goal and should be explicitly stressed in the Constitution.

8. The President must combat corruption, which is a cancer in the Nation and requires a radical cure.

9. Every country that has surmounted a crisis had to undergo the same development stages. In the first stage the objective should be to achieve measurable successes with the assets on hand, that is, by utilizing our existing plants and factories, favorable geographical position, and specific national traits. That is because the second stage, the investment stage, has always and everywhere been a consequence of bootstrap efforts.

10. Poland is an industrial-agricultural country and hence also close economic ties between agriculture and industry are indispensable. I view farming as the strategically most important defensive bastion of our country in face of international economic competition.

11. The Polish Army should be strong, in consonance with historical tradition. Especially now, as a user of modern equipment, it has to play a historic role, not only in defending our boundaries but also in promoting the technological education of youth.

12. The State Budget must be made public and announced at quarterly intervals. It must be an incremental growth budget rather than merely an allocational budget.

13. The Republic of Poland should be a country under rule of law.

14. The tax system should safeguard the equality of all entities before law. An explicit, single-page tax return filed annually will be the basis for paying taxes. Employees, and not only the workplaces, should be enabled to profit, to derive earnings, and to grow.

15. As soon as possible, but only following free elections, the Parliament should draft a new Constitution which should be consonant with our national character and safeguard the conditions needed to tap the optimal potential of every citizen.

16. Poland is a victim of an international economic war. We need an immediate strategic plan for achieving prosperity. Its drafting and effective implementation will be a fundamental duty of the future Government.

17. Priority should be given to a reform of the inefficient management of state industrial plants. The long-term objective is their privatization, but that should be a process in which the employees of these plants could directly participate through their free decisions. Investment by foreign capital should also be encouraged, but preferential terms for stock purchases should be offered to employees. Socialized plants should be treated like private plants at which everybody can earn a decent pay.

18. The education of our youth and tapping its creative potential provide the best safeguards for prosperity and, as regards the older generation, higher retirement pensions.

19. The growth of the State Budget should be paralleled by growth in outlays on health care, culture, and education.

20. We must protect our country against environmental pollution.

21. The inflation of the zloty will be a fact for the next few years, until Poland's economic level will reach that of the Western countries. But security for those who need help should be provided. Price increases are unavoidable, but income increases are more important. The value of the zloty is the value of our labor. The more productive our labor becomes, the stronger our currency. Inflation is caused by the absence of mechanisms stimulating productivity growth. I desire to prove that we can live well and earn good wages without having to emigrate from our Fatherland.

Walesa Holds News Conference on Elections

LD2711190690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1510 GMT 27 Nov 90

[News conference given by presidential candidate Lech Walesa with unidentified reporters in Gdansk on 27 November—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Accusations have been made against the main actors in the electoral drama that they have committed the sin of hubris and are guilty of a lack of humility. What do you say to that?

[Walesa] We could be judged in the same way, but I do not think things are like that. I realized about nine months ago that it would be so difficult to reform Poland that we would not be able to manage if we were divided—and divisions appeared when we failed to authorize the agreement when the party dissolved. [sentence as heard] Then the government, along with the prime minister, behaved a bit like a government and showed independence—the Citizens Committee, myself and Solidarity likewise. Three strongly independent groups have emerged. This is pluralism, and one should be pleased. In this situation it would, however, be impossible for us to carry the burden. That is why I decided to move again and once again build one Solidarity with some goals—not to disturb the pluralism of democracy, but to go for greater democracy and a lot of freedom, to help this democracy but at the same time to attempt a united struggle for reforms in Poland.

Did I succeed? At the moment I think not, because a few rounds of talks are needed with those who do not quite understand what is going on. After that we should get a common goal, that is, once again, Solidarity. Here I have Poland in mind, the reforms. I am thinking seriously about all this, and I am attempting to meet the challenges.

[Reporter] Are you surprised that the whole government resigned yesterday, and not just Prime Minister Mazowiecki?

[Walesa] Listen, we can deliberate on this, but it is the prime minister who sets up the government, and if the prime minister resigns then the government must do the same—what else? Is the government to stay, when there would be a minister, or five? [as heard] This is normal. One can, however, see it in different ways. One can see it the way you did—that something happened here. In every country similar things happen. One can ask if this was a good time for it. I believe it is a bad time because the temperature in Poland is quite high, and one should do it calmly, as it says on this poster, which reads "The force of calm." Behave like this to the end, that is, wait for presidential elections, wait for certain talks, perhaps to search for the ethos of Solidarity, and only then follow one's conscience and the law. I think that this is simply just a young democracy. There are some ambitions; after all, these people, with Mazowiecki included, have really worked hard. They did not want to understand that we do not have any transmission to the masses, that they do not understand us, and that is why we are losing. I explained it, I asked questions, I requested, but it was not well received. Only after this cold shower—I think it will wake everyone, and once again we will seriously think about reforms in Poland.

[Reporter] What about your participation in the second round of the election?

[Walesa] If Mazowiecki took Tyminski's place, then there would be no second round. I would resign in favor of Mazowiecki. Today I have no other choice. We cannot entrust Poland to such hands: untried, unknown, without any background—that is, simply something unbelievable. Therefore, I have no other choice. I have to go on, but I repeat once again—obviously, someone may say: He speaks like this because this is what did not happen. You cannot verify this. I was preparing myself for a second round with Mr. Mazowiecki, however, and for having 40 percent at this point—or maybe some more, I hoped, and that I would return [passage indistinct]. Responsibility for Poland and the situation that we have does not allow me another solution. I do not have the pleasure. I would not like it. Otherwise [words indistinct]. On the other hand, if you look at what has just happened—this is dangerous, and I have simply no choice, and I cannot act differently.

[Reporter] Do you expect support from Prime Minister Mazowiecki's camp before the second round of election?

[Walesa] This shower, this cold shower; I have already mentioned it. Gentlemen, you act like children who deserve to be taken over the knee and spanked; think about it, it has not been fulfilled. It has happened, and that is why we are doomed to have each other. We have to implement the reforming of Poland; Poland is in a very difficult situation. We did not get along; we were drifting apart. I am trying to sew it together. I am trying to implement what Prime Minister Mazowiecki said. Will I succeed? I usually succeed.

[Reporter] From your television election programs, [name indistinct] said that you would make a very good president because you will have a very strong opposition. How do you respond to this?

[Walesa] I agree with the first part. I do not agree with the second—because I am a person who likes compromises, with Christian convictions. Therefore, I forgive, but the issue here is not about personal forgiveness. I proved it to you all when the prime minister was becoming prime minister, that we had been at variance. When Poland needed such an arrangement then, regardless of my ambitions, I decided to go along with it.

Now, probably something similar will happen—that I will not be satisfied as a private citizen, as a president, I hope—but I will do all this for Poland to get the best results. I will attain such results, because that is my goal.

[Reporter] Will there be no opposition?

[Walesa] Yes, there will be opposition, but it will be a hygienic opposition [opozycja higieniczna]—that means an opposition that says that Walesa and his group are wrong, that another president would be better, an opposition that has specific complaints, and not one that says that he has dirty nails so he would not make a good president or prime minister. This is not how things should be seen. I think we will have a lot of opposition, but opposition that fits into Western patterns, that is, one that is the opposition but in spite of this is moving in the same direction. It is to be the opposition that disagrees with actions or directions, but does it in such a way as to gain support, but support not by strikes, for example, not by attempting civil war—it should not be put like this.

The opposition is essential, and I will do everything for proper pluralism to exist in Poland, great pluralism, but as I said, a logical one, the one we see in the West, a good one.

[Reporter] I would like to ask a question that does not seem serious, but I would like to ask it in a serious manner. What will you do if Tyminski wins the elections—do you consider such a possibility?

[Walesa] No, I do not consider such a possibility. Not because of conceit, but because of responsibility. We can say the nicest things, but as a practical activist I have to see that in Poland people want practical results. That is why such a possibility does not exist. Yes, we got a lesson from Tyminski; yes, it is an accident in building our democracy, this Tyminski—but I envisaged it much earlier, when we argued with Prime Minister Mazowiecki, when I said that we have no understanding among the masses, that we are in danger of what has just happened. This time, Tyminski, but tomorrow it could be a miner who protests and is supported by the miners, or another shipyard worker, like Lech Walesa. This is a normal thing, which was foreseen but not dangerous enough to take it seriously in running for the presidential office. There can be no other result.

[Reporter] Did I understand this correctly—you were a candidate in the elections in order to convince yourself that you could win, and not to become president?

[Walesa] No, one must not conduct experiments with the nation. When I looked at the Polish reforms nearly a year ago, when I mentioned the acceleration for the first time, I realized that the concept of a diminishing Solidarity—the concept on banking just on the government and legal authorities—would not work, would not withstand the test of time, that the reforms are too heavy and one must look for unity, but unity with society, a unity that may seem demagogic or populist, as someone said. One must stay with this unity so that it becomes less ferocious, less populist. Do you understand? No? To be with the masses even if they are dissatisfied, but in order to explain what is possible and how to go forward so that this is not destructive. We have not resolved even half Poland's problems, but we already managed to become divided, because there is on the one hand the prime minister and the government; on the other, the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group, a divided one; and me, Lech Walesa, not knowing what and how. I am trying to regain this because of our goal, but together with our society. [sentence as heard]

At the moment we have separated, and I have separated from society and I do not represent it well, because I sided too closely with the government and reforms, and I did not consider society enough. There is enough time to go back, even if we do less, to get better understanding. If there is no understanding, then our results will be destroyed by the lack of understanding.

[Reporter] Other questions concerning the personnel changes in the government. In particular, journalists want to know who will be the prime minister.

[Walesa] I have said it many times, and I am keeping my word. I said that if I become president I will try to get to the parliamentary elections with the fewest possible changes. Then democracy and the parliamentary composition will force through certain democratic behavior of the president, and all of us. Depending on the composition of the parliament, there will be a corresponding government and governing. I say once again, I would like to have minimal changes, perhaps no changes at all, and to get to the parliamentary elections like this. Today, I will speak with all the significant forces, and I will ask for us to get to the parliamentary elections with the minimal changes, or without any changes. We will see. We only have three to four months, including holidays and the New Year. One should not make changes now, because later we will have to make changes again, because democracy will demand it of us. Because of this let us try to be efficient. In connection with this, the least number of changes now, because they will have to be made later anyway.

I do not know what will happen. Prime Minister Mazowiecki resigned yesterday. Today I will telephone him to ask him not to increase the tension, because there is enough tension anyway. Of course, this is just a formal resignation, as he has to go on in this function. It is difficult to say what will come out of these talks. We

have to be very careful about the future shape of democracy, and behave more in line with democracy than our ambition. The child being born, whose name is democracy, must have a good school. We must learn to resign, if necessary, in a wise manner. One must not do it immediately, the next day, when the president is not elected [words indistinct] because this is a dangerous situation. Is the old president, who is also going, to appoint a new prime minister, or what? What is the point? This is an example of poor democracy. It should have been done in a different and better way. This would be easier. Again, maybe as a lesson in democracy, this is good. We will draw the conclusion that it should not be done, that we were carried away, that, after all, we have to act in keeping with customs, logic, so that life for us is easier.

[Reporter] This morning on the radio, Senator Karol Modzelewski said that considering the total figures—that is, the number of Poles eligible to vote, and voting, and the number who voted for you—you will not become president because only 25 percent of adult Poles trust you. How would you respond to this?

[Walesa] Well, I wonder. Karol Modzelewski made big mistakes. He saw the power in the hands of the street; then, after my entreaties to forget this poor joke (?that he) ended on [words indistinct] and to take up activities once again because he is a good activist, and we will somehow forget it, and people will forget. Today he is didactic again, and is making mistakes again.

[Reporter] How do you intend to carry on your election campaign in the second round, and do you intend to have a televised debate with Mr. Tyminski?

[Walesa] I am ready to meet Mr. Tyminski. I also propose a second thing: Let the Poles know everything precisely. I also propose that our wives meet, and have a similar meeting with you. [laughter] You must know the president's whole family, children, [passage indistinct] and let every Pole know who he is electing, what the true Polish mother who governs, looks like [words indistinct]. Yes, I accept the proposal, but I would not like him to be insulted. I want to carry on a positive campaign and I want to do it consciously. Therefore, do not write that Walesa is degrading, joking, no, this is how Walesa sees these things. I also heard that Mr. Tyminski wants to meet me, that he suggests [words indistinct] in Miodowiecz's place, then, at the same time, I will really try hard to arrange a meeting of our wives, of our children, so that Poland sees everything.

[Reporter] Today you spoke about the need for unity, and about the need to solve problems first and then to argue. How does this relate to what you said only a month ago about the need for fighting at the top, divisions, and protecting the reforms against, let us say, a Bolshevik threat, that first we build, and later we forget about democracy?

[Walesa] That is (?because) I said one thing in the morning and another thing in the evening. The context was different. I could see that we were not meeting public expectations. Do you understand, madam? Much of our society stands at the sidelines. Many people do not agree with us and do not see that we are sticking to the subject. That is why I suggested a battle in the context of [words indistinct] those phrases that I came across among the public, that dissatisfaction, that (?would be taken into account). That Tyminski [words indistinct] to the top and argues. It did not work out, so I had to say something different at noon, a different concept. Each one of these statements was justified at that historic moment and at that political moment. I was right then, and I am right now. I say that we need understanding. I sometimes use abbreviations, and think that you know what I am thinking, madam, yet it transpires that it is I who knows what you are thinking, madam. [laughter]

[Reporter] Do you intend to travel the country before the second round?

[Walesa] I think so. I have traveled the length and breadth. Now I have to say that I am bankrupt. I have to calculate whether I will have enough for the whole campaign. Therefore, first I will have to calculate. There is probably no need for it. Poles know what Walesa stands for. I think that you, too, seeing what is happening will also work in a different way, that is, press down harder and know who in this country really has a chance, what the program is, and you will do the work for Walesa, for Poland, for the reforms. Only, should someone seriously ask—well, the Balcerowicz plan, reforms, should the West be afraid, should capital be afraid?—I would like to say once again, despite the fact that I have not yet won: The direction of the market economy initiated by Balcerowicz will be implemented, regardless of whether I win or lose. There will be improvements, above all, in the sphere of agriculture. As regards unemployment, the closing of enterprises, there will be certain improvements here. That is, I understand all this and will carry it out, except that I will do it differently. First, I will try to create opportunities for people not to be out on the streets, but to have a chance of doing something else, and I will not be closing workplaces in a political but in an economic manner. Therefore, far better conditions than before will exist for capital, for cooperation at least, in my opinion, since we will be working more quickly. There is one more thing that I will try to do forcefully, that is, push away papers and seals as much as possible. I cannot stand paper; I cannot stand seals; and so there will be maximum simplification here. Of course, in a professional way. It is not me [as heard], but my request is that during my first year of office, there should only remain one-fifth of this paperwork.

Later, in accordance with Jan Pietrzak's [a comedian] concept—he once said that all regulations should be suspended, and permission given—I will not end this quote because I am a Nobel laureate. [Pietrzak's joke was: All regulations should be abolished and all Poles should be issued guns; then everything will sort itself out

quickly]. What we are doing, both in regard to democracy and the economy, is terribly important, yet we do not know who is right. That is why we must all work so that our reforms are successful. Our reforms here in Poland are very important because other countries are a bit behind us. It is necessary to build pluralism, but one must remember that we must move forward together in regard to the main topics or else will not be able to carry this heavy burden. Today, Solidarity, even after the elections, is showing that the third force is possible—but the third force can overthrow all of us. This tells us that we must go back, Lech Walesa and everyone, must go back once again to be workers and say again: Listen, maybe we were too (?proud), maybe we did not work the best, but if we want to win then we must not be divided on these main issues. We have to admit this and go forward together, because individually it is too difficult. This is not at variance with democracy or pluralism; this is possible and essential for today and for tomorrow for Poland.

[Reporter] Lech, in Podkarpacie, you became a president, you were elected. Will you visit the region during your campaign—to be precise, will you visit Krosno?

[Walesa] I will be in various places. I feel fine in the car, in a plane, or even with a parachute. Therefore, I will be going to various places. My staff and democracy, however, arrange this for me is a different matter. I really want to be a democratic president who will be dependent on democracy.

Walesa Interviewed on Campaign Trail in Lodz

PM2811132790 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 12 Nov 90 pp 1, 6

[Interview with presidential candidate and Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by GLOS PORANNY reporter Jadwiga Rybicka at the Grand Hotel in Lodz on 10 November; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the small reception room of his hotel suite Walesa first of all apologized to the reporters that he could only give us limited time, owing to a cold which he had contracted during his recent travels around the country (and for which our reporter was able to give him some suitable medicine!)

[Rybicka] So would it not have been more practical to travel with your wife, who knows best how to look after you?

[Walesa] Who would have looked after our children then? I love my wife very much, but this is precisely why—and also because she is needed at home—I maintain that her place is predominantly there.

[Rybicka] How do you assess the cordiality and the spontaneity of your reception here? (outside there are sounds of cheering and shouts of "Long live!")

[Walesa] I am most of all pleased with the fact that society is waking up to shared discussion about Poland and to joint action. This is how I read the expressions of enthusiasm.

[Rybicka] The women of Lodz have to work far too hard and they are close to despair. What can you tell them that will not be an empty promise?

[Walesa] The success of our reforms will be directly proportional to our active involvement. Provided that it is not only isolated individuals who get down actively to getting things done, we will succeed. This is why I keep looking for allies in my effort to "activate" Poland.

[Rybicka] Lodz has a predominance of very large industrial enterprises. Their crews face the threat of unemployment....

[Walesa] I do not believe that these giants stand a chance of surviving, especially with the extent of foreign financial involvement. They must be split up into smaller companies and privatized.

[Rybicka] What do you have to say to those people who are afraid to vote for you?

[Walesa] I believe that a deliberate campaign is being conducted to induce fear of Walesa in people. All you need do is look around and see for yourself how many areas of public life are being autocratically steered just now. Take, for example, your own field of the mass media. People are continuously being told: "The public will vote for Mazowiecki, but it will be Walesa who will win—for the sake of calming the people." Is this manipulation on my part?... As regards my own plans, I genuinely intend to submit to vetting procedures open to the public, for I know—I understand—that the game is not played for Walesa's or Mazowiecki's benefit. It is Poland which is at stake here! So, if you really have doubts, do not vote for me. Do not attempt to manipulate public opinion!

[A representative of the retired sector of the population] As president, will you not forget about us senior citizens?

[Walesa] The state cannot afford much expenditure these days, but the thing is to create appropriate mechanisms to guarantee a steady, gradual improvement in the situation. The system must guarantee that the people get sufficient pensions, steady jobs, realistic wages, and development in the fields of culture and education. This should not depend on Walesa: As I said, it should be inherent in the system. Walesa's job will be to safeguard it. [passage omitted]

Walesa Comments on Political Position, Goals

AU2011182790 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 17 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Lech Walesa by Marian Turski; place and date not given: "I Am Not Afraid of Democracy, I Am Not Afraid of Crowds"]

[Text] [Turski] I have just been reading in today's press that you will step down if you lose the election....

[Walesa] That is a misinterpretation. What I said was this: I cannot remain with the union ("Solidarity") any longer—regardless of the outcome of the elections. If I win, then it is obvious that I cannot be both head of state and chairman of the union. If I lose... I foresee hell breaking loose in Poland, because the reform has failed: There will be strikes and protests, and I do not want to be accused of either not keeping things firmly enough in check or of being pleased with such a state of affairs, because I am out for revenge. So, I would like it to be understood that a sense of patriotic responsibility would not allow me to remain head of the union, because I would not be able to solve anything, and I would just take flak.

[Turski] Do you not think that the country might need a Walesa who is the leader of a loyal opposition that would help to build democratic structures in Poland?

[Walesa] Yes, a loyal opposition is needed, but under different circumstances. I cannot join the ranks of a loyal opposition, because I do not agree with the concept for implementing the reform, because I would have to place the blame on someone for the lack of that acceleration that I have been requesting. Of course, one can go into opposition and try to bring about a change in the existing state of affairs that way. What would society say then? They would say that the politicians are working out a deal but exposing the country to losses. So, I actually have no choice. Perhaps, under different circumstances, if such important issues and decisions were not what is at stake, going into opposition might be desirable. In the present situation, however, my opposition would be limited to upsetting things, and I cannot allow myself that, because the social costs would be too great.

[Turski] Fine, let us discuss another possibility. You win the elections, and what happens after that? Deputy Stefan Niesiolowski, a Christian National Union activist and a very strong supporter of yours, sees things as follows: "Once Walesa has won, I imagine there being a real right wing or center-right government.... I imagine the future government being based around the groupings that support Walesa today...." What do you think about that?

[Walesa] Niesiolowski does not know Walesa. I would not be the person that I am if I were not a man of compromise, if I were to dismiss the other social forces that there are in Poland or leave them on the sidelines. I want to be a good president and have a good government, and good means the broadest possible and responsible participation in the governing and running of the country. It will definitely not be just the right alone.

[Turski] Would you not agree that paradoxically the order of events has been reversed: First, the president will be elected and then the constituent assembly will define his powers and rights. What if those powers are limited—might Lech Walesa, once he is elected president, not begin to wonder why he started out in the race?

[Walesa] I can see that you do not know Walesa well enough. That is precisely what I always say to my critics: Today, formulating programs is nothing but making fun of the electorate. These wise guys who announce programs do not know why people want programs, but I do. People believe that a program announced by a president will settle concrete, day-to-day issues for them—the purchase of a cow or having a house built. That is why I maintain that politicians are playing games if they announce programs. They know that such programs are unrealistic until the constituent assembly has defined the president's powers. When I say that, it is charged that I do not have a program and that I am being conceited. I manage to work out that two plus two is four while the rest are still claiming that it is five. Then it turns out that I am right, but then I am called a dictator for doing so.

[Turski] Let us stick to the subject of your concept of the presidency for a while. It is now commonly said that Walesa "would like to use an ax to put things in order." I do want to start taking issue with what you said, because I realize that it was a metaphor. Nevertheless, something that you have said on many occasions is important, namely, that you will be forced to govern with the help of decrees. The present Constitution, however, does not provide for decrees, except in the event of martial law being declared. Does this mean that you will insist that the new constitution should provide the president with the right to issue decrees?

[Walesa] No, I will ask parliament on bended knee to appoint a group, a parliamentary group or one that might enjoy even more trust—it might include the primate, a bishop, or others (chosen according to particular criteria)—the group will have to enjoy a lot of credibility, because numerous conflicts can be expected. This group of trusted persons should examine specific problems, at times block things or slow things down, or in any case refer them to parliament. Parliament's first task will be to adopt a position on these contentious issues. The president should just have a regulatory function, oversee the overall situation, to be sensitive to what society wants and draw the attention of parliament to what is good and what is bad. He should not impose anything. He should at most advise parliament on how it should proceed wisely. That is how I see my role.... Of course, I would like to introduce decrees, not presidential or government decrees, but ones that would be issued by an authoritative parliamentary group. The purpose of all this is to take Poland through the rough times that lie ahead of us.

[Turski] The Poles, of course, associate the Belweder Palace with Pilsudski. Is Jozef Pilsudski a model for you?

[Walesa] There is no doubt that Pilsudski was a genius for his day and age. Whether he would be a genius today

is something that I do not know. These are different times today, a different age. Matters have to be settled in a different way.

[Turski] Regarding Pilsudski, a reader wrote to us asking whether you, like Marshal Pilsudski, have a dismissive attitude toward parliament and deputies. The reader quoted a statement that you made that was cited in the press: "When the need arises, I will set things straight—I will go the deputy and say 'what are you being paid for?' I will throw him out of the Sejm...."

[Walesa] No, that is not what I said. I said that if any disputes arise over certain issues, I will go to people and say to them: You chose your man in parliament, come to some kind of agreement with him, he should express your will. I would like to act as a mediator.... However, Now that you have mentioned a dismissive attitude toward deputies, I detected something of that sort in the way in which my rival's government behaved toward those deputies who were among the striking farmers in the agriculture ministry. They were forcibly removed, with militia assistance. I am not going into whether the deputies were right or wrong, they were probably wrong, but they should not be treated in that way. I have shown—both in Slupsk and Mlawa—that I can manage to convince people peacefully. Democracy is not something that frightens me, I am not afraid of crowds, I can come to an understanding with them, because I have arguments. This is not conceit on my part, I came from the masses, I have the same roots, and that is why I can succeed, but Mazowiecki cannot. He proved that with what happened at the ministry, and he did that when he was still weak. So, give him even more power now... Gentlemen, if you do not see the danger, then... Jesus!... you are irresponsible, you writers! He is prime minister, he has his ministers, he has ambassadors, and he intends to become president and appoint his own prime minister.... Heaven help us! And he has already had parliamentarians thrown out....

[Turski] If you become president, you will also want to make someone who is close to you prime minister....

[Walesa] Hold on, hold on.... I have surely shown that I can resolve conflicts. And I did so on my own. It will be much easier for me to do that when I have picked a team of people who support me.

[Turski] Let us talk about Walesa and the masses: Some time ago I asked you whether you would be able the find the courage and strength of a Pilsudski or De Gaulle to, if necessary, go against the current of public opinion and to oppose prevailing views. You gave a splendid answer couched in figurative terms. You said that it is stupid to stand in the way of a horse that is galloping toward you, because it will crush you, you have to run alongside it, jump on it while it is moving, and then guide it. People are now, however, asking themselves whether you have not been running alongside the horse for too long, and whether, to drop the metaphor, do you not keep telling audiences what they want to hear, the things that will win applause?

[Walesa] Have I promised anything dangerous? I have said that there will be privatization and I will do that. Mazowiecki has also promised privatization, the only thing is that I have a spread it over five years and he, to be different, brings it down to three years. Does everyone agree with Walesa in the midst of the hectic pluralism that I encounter at rallies? No. They throw tomatoes at me, not because of what I have done wrong, but because of what the government has done wrong. Do I not stand up to that? No one helps me, and I fight on my own. There are tens of thousands of people at the rallies. Often people come along specially just to throw me off balance, to ridicule me. There are all kinds of people, anarchists of some sort, but I can deal with them, I get them to calm down and they even end up singing "for he is jolly good fellow." So, I have shown that I do not give anything away, but still succeed. If Polish society is shown understanding, there are no dangers. Of course, that is not the case indefinitely. Of course, if I just keep talking and do not do anything, then there will come a point when people will say, "That is enough, Walesa!" I intend to act. I cannot do so now, because I lack executive authority....

[Turski] There is something about the way that you behave that reminds me of the policies of Mao Zedong.... Please do not laugh.... Essentially, what was the "Cultural Revolution" if not an attempt to create an opposition within one's own camp in order to rescue that camp, to rescue its rule....

[Walesa] That was indeed the case at times....

[Turski] Is the slogan of "sending a fresh wind through Warsaw" not something similar to the "Cultural Revolution"?

[Walesa] The wind slogan was exaggerated by the other side. People want me express my position on anti-Semitism and all kinds of other topics in a way that will provoke me, and so I was asked, for example, if I would "send a fresh wind through Warsaw?" That was exactly the way it was put. And I said "yes, that is right, that is right...." I knew perfectly well that that was a provocation, because I realize that some official, some secretary is afraid that I will sack them, throw them out.... Sometimes, I have to sidestep the issue in answering a question. It is natural that if someone wants you to get your fingers burnt, you try to run away.

[Turski] There was a lot of controversy recently about President Jaruzelski's decision not to sign the bill on selling land to foreigners. What do you think about that?

[Walesa] I do not know what his intention was, but I would have done the same thing. That is to say, Jaruzelski's intention probably a political one, but I would have had a different one. It is connected with my concept of privatization. I want to make the Poles owners, and as

long I have not made them owners, I cannot sell other people land or factories. Today, some people even accuse me of changing my opinion, that today I am in favor of restricting foreign ownership to 49 percent, and in the past I did not say that. I, however, am not misleading foreign businessmen, I just do not want directors to be selling off factories by themselves, because I am afraid that they will cheat me, that they will cheat us, and they will rob Poland. That is why I say that Poles should be made owners first, and that is why I want to speed up the ownership process, and then, the Poles can sell off what they have bought if they want to, according to the laws of the marketplace, and no one will have been cheated.

[Turski] Is there no contradiction between your views on the question of privatization and those of the head of your team of advisers, Andrzej Micewski? He has criticized the government for putting up for sale the most prosperous, profitable enterprises. (On the other hand, the government has said that it is doing so to encourage society to buy shares)....

[Walesa] My position is as follows: In the past, economics was subordinated to politics, so we are not going to repeat those methods. Of course, it is right that certain industries and factories of special importance—in the defense sector, ones of national importance—should be excluded from the privatization process, but as for the rest, let us make the decision rest with the laws of the marketplace. I do not like seeing political considerations determine economic moves. That is what went on under communism, the difference being that it was the other side that was doing that.

[Turski] Do you still maintain that you will win the elections with an overwhelming majority?

[Walesa] That was something of a trick. I said that to give the prime minister a fright. I did not want him to start out, because I did not want us to stand against each other. Today, I think that I will get 50 to 60 percent of the vote. I would probably not take part in a second round, because I need a broad base of public support. I did say probably, because people from my circles are coming to me and saying: Lech, you cannot do that, so much money has been spent.... It is not all just up to me....

[Turski] I can see that there are some Japanese people waiting to talk to you, so let us finish. Thank you.

Walesa Aide Remarks on Walesa Presidency

AU2011210390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17-18 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with Zdzislaw Najder, chairman of the Lech Walesa Citizens Committee, by Roman Kaluza; place and date not given: "We Need a Shake-Up"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Kaluza] Let us assume Walesa wins the election. What next?

[Najder] The program is changing. It is no longer patience that we are advocating, but energy and an encouragement of economic and social activity. The style of authority is also changing.

[Kaluza] After years of communist serfdom it is probably not easy to alter the style of authority by means of a mere official decree. That is something which requires a long time. What is this new style of authority supposed to be like?

[Najder] Most of all, it will be based on hearing what society has to say. One cannot have a situation where the government always knows better than anyone else. That policy has always failed. Of course hard times are ahead, for a long time things will get worse, not better, and this is where a proper information policy might play a positive role.

[Kaluza] Everyone is criticizing the government's information policy, saying it is bad. But perhaps that is not just the government's fault, but also the fault of journalists, who fail to report things.

[Najder] There are many issues on which the government prefers to remain silent. For example, it was very convenient to have General Jaruzelski as president, so differences in opinion between him and the government were hushed up, and people abroad asked what Poland's real stance on a given matter was.

The government, in control of the media, cannot blame journalists for not providing proper coverage. For example, when President von Weizsaecker was in Poland, it was not the journalists' duty to provide proper coverage of this visit. Furthermore, in democratic countries it is not government spokesmen who explain government policy, but those who make the decisions themselves. In such countries, presidents and prime ministers spend half their time explaining their actions to party activists, trade unionists, and ordinary citizens, and they do not think they are wasting their time, for the decisive thing in a democracy is not whether someone is right or not, but whether he is able to convince others that he is right. I hope the fully democratic parliamentary election that will take place shortly after the presidential election will alter the situation in Poland. It will not be possible to implement any changes unless there is a close link between the people and the government. [passage omitted]

[Kaluza] Do you not think that in the new situation we are in danger of an excess of democracy and a possible return of totalitarianism? Walesa frequently describes himself as a dictator. That is nonsense, but what does he mean when he says "when democracy fails, I will have to take everything in my own hands"?

[Najder] I have never heard of that statement, but it is typical that Walesa's strength, determination, and dynamism is construed not as a driving force for positive changes but as a bid to become a dictator and author of a new totalitarianism. Remember that this so-called

"despot" nominated Mazowiecki for prime minister, even though he was greatly at odds with Mazowiecki at the time. Polish society is extremely sensitive to totalitarianism, and Walesa's popularity is the result of society's impatience and insecurity, not their support for a dictatorship. Walesa is in favor of a free market, pluralism, competition, openness to the world and toward different opinions. Those are not the qualities of a dictatorship. They are the qualities of a modern democracy, which is what we want.

[Kaluza] So you are optimistic about what will happen after 25 November.

[Najder] If Walesa wins, yes! It will be a difficult time, but the situation will be clear, the programs and objectives will be defined, the authorities will be determined. Most of all, the authorities will act in accordance with society's aspirations, not at a distance from them. It is not the authorities that will teach the people what to do. Instead, society will express its own views and convince the authorities. That sounds banal, but remember what the situation used to be. It is still like that.

Mazowiecki Appeals for Striving for Democracy

LD2711194390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's appeal to supporters; read by announcer]

[Text] I appeal to all those who supported me in the presidential elections. We are many—2.5 million. A great many people share the vision of the state, the vision of democracy. This is a mass of people who are ready to strive for a deep economic reform of the country and are seek a proper and safe place for Poland in Europe. I would like this community which was created during the presidential elections to survive and develop. That is why I asked to preserve our electoral committees.

We still have a common goal and common work to be done. A coalition of people who supported my program must be strengthened and it must be ensured that this coalition enjoys the most significant participation in public life. Therefore I want to invite to Warsaw representatives of all my electoral committees this coming Sunday [2 December]. We will discuss organizational forms of our future actions and we will make appropriate decisions.

Election Results Called 'Shameful Episode'

AU2811120390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26 Nov 90 p 1

[Untitled commentary by Ernest Skalski]

[Text] This shameful episode in our political history may weigh heavily on us for a long time to come. Tyminski cannot win against Walesa, but he may become the leader of a completely new opposition that would create even more problems for Walesa than opposition from the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action and the Forum of the Democratic Right.

The political forces that support Cimoszewicz and Bartoszcze will also remain on the scene. This may lead to a struggle involving everyone, political chaos, and economic collapse.

Of course, this worst possible scenario does not have to become reality, but preventing it will require reflection, discussion, and effort.

Election Results Not Foreseen; Signal Warning

AU2811125190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 90 p 1

[Commentary by RZECZPOSPOLITA editor Dariusz Fikus: "A Lesson in Humility"]

[Text] We did not foresee this. We realized there would probably be a second election round, but we thought it would be a contest between Walesa and Mazowiecki, not between Walesa and Tyminski. That is the latest election result. It is not yet the final outcome, but it is a very probable one.

This result of the first round is a warning that this is not a repeat of last year's march to victory with banners. A warning signal was provided by the low turnout in the local government elections this year. That was a signal that society is confused and disturbed by the growing conflict in the ruling camp, which might have dampened society's liking for its leaders. In spring, opinion polls showed that 70 percent of the population still supported them, yet a mere couple of months later, this support had dwindled to an alarmingly low level. A "black sheep" has benefited from the Walesa-Mazowiecki family quarrel. That is a setback both for Mazowiecki and for Walesa. Mazowiecki's defeat should not be construed as a personal one because any prime minister of the first post-communist government might have suffered it. The things this government has done and tried to do, perhaps not entirely without error, has turned out to be difficult for society to tolerate. Only in the future will it become apparent that it was probably essential, albeit very painful.

The need to hold a second round of the election should be a warning to all candidates, especially Lech Walesa, the probable winner, that one cannot ignore the unease and worries that trouble society. In any case, Lech Walesa felt this danger. It would be grave mistake to be offended with society just because it failed to elect the people we wanted. One cannot ignore that part of the electorate that voted for Tyminski. Preliminary results show that workers gave him almost as many votes as they did Walesa. Small towns and some rural areas also voted for Tyminski. So did young people. We have to consider why.

All in all, over 60 percent of the voters voted for "Solidarity." That is not a small quantity. The family

quarrel has deprived it of a considerable number of votes. The citizens will choose the president according to their conviction and conscience. That is how it must be. Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki has said so. He is not offended with the nation. If one mobilizes democratic mechanisms, one must accept the results of their functioning.

Now a difficult second round of voting is ahead of us, but as a result of it a normal, constructive, and thinking opposition might emerge out of "Solidarity." Perhaps the present situation, with no sure winner, is bitter for Walesa's supporters and for those who voted for Mazowiecki, but at the same time it is evidence of a genuine pluralization of society. This pluralization is creating a surprise for quite a few people, but I repeat: One must not be offended. A part of society is confused, whereas society in general cannot stand any kind of monopoly, neither the "Solidarity" monopolies nor the ones publicized by the postcommunist propaganda.

The presidential election does not mark the end of our road. Ahead of us is a dispute about the new rules for electing people to the Sejm, which will contain very clear features of proportionality, plus a debate on the powers of the president and general elections. We must keep a considerable quantity of strength in reserve.

Principles for 2d Round of Elections Announced

LD2711232490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Excerpt] The State Electoral Commission has discussed the principles for the second round of the presidential elections. They will be held on 9 December, at the same time and in the same polling stations. The same electoral commissions will conduct the elections. The second round of the election will be held only on Polish territory. The commission has decided that citizens participation in the election should be made as easy as possible. [passage omitted]

Roman Continues Visit to Uruguay, Argentina

Communique on Uruguay Visit

AU2411195090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1802 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest [place-name as received], ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—At the invitation of the president of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, Luis Alberto Lacalle Herrera, Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman paid an official visit to that country over November 23-25, 1990.

Official talks were held between the Romanian Premier and the Uruguayan head of state in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

The Romanian Prime Minister also had interviews with other officials of the host country.

The sides examined the relations existing between the two countries and the possibilities to expand them and exchanged opinions on the current international issues, on those connected with peace and security included, specifies the communique released today. The sides reasserted their governments' pledge to strengthen democracy and expressed the two countries' intentions to actively contribute to the efforts aimed at maintaining world peace as well as at peacefully settling litigious issues.

As far as the gulf crisis is concerned, both sides emphasized their agreement on the necessity that all the U.N. Security Council resolutions be observed as well as on the imperative of making all efforts to diplomatically settle the conflict by Iraq's unconditioned withdrawal from Kuwait.

Stress was laid on the importance of a close collaboration between Romania and Uruguay to successfully conclude the Uruguay round within GATT negotiations.

Both sides agreed to make great efforts to increase the trade exchanges between the two countries which now are below wished level.

The Romanian prime minister thanked the Uruguayan Government for the support he was granted for a favorable settlement of Romania's request to be given the status of permanent observer at the American States' Organization.

During the visit the accord for the promotion and mutual guaranteeing of investments was signed as well as a programme of cultural exchanges for the application of the cultural and scientific collaboration agreement.

Analysis was made of the possibility to arrange consultations between the two countries' foreign ministries alternately in Bucharest and Montevideo every year.

The Romanian prime minister renewed Romanian President Ion Iliescu's invitation extended to the president of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, Luis Alberto Lacalle Herrera, to pay an official visit to Romania. President Lacalle accepted the invitation with pleasure. The date of the visit is to be diplomatically established, the communique also reads.

Ends Visit to Uruguay

AU2611192790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1902 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Montevideo, ROMPRES, 26/11/1990—The official visit paid by Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman to the Oriental Republic of Uruguay concluded with special results in the dynamic process of wide international opening of the Romanian foreign policy. Important master agreements were concluded, which lay foundations to most fertile collaboration in varied domains. The bilateral relations have "excellent" prospects assesses daily "EL PAIS", with wholesome consequences on the complementary economies of Romania and Uruguay. The document signed also opened up the way to collaboration in third markets. Concrete proposals of cooperation were advanced in machine-building and indutrial equipment, such as food industry, as well as in commerce, exchange of delegations in most varied domains, including science, technology and culture.

Referring to Premier Roman's visit in Uruguay and the talks conducted on the occasion, Augusto Montesdeoca, minister of industry and energy of the host country, said: "It has been a visit that has opened wide vistas for best cooperation. We are in a similar process of transition and development, which is one more advantage for lasting relations. We have retained as very attractive the Romanian delegation's proposals for cooperation in the assembly of tout-terrain [all-terrain] and Dacia cars and tractors. We have great expectations as regards Romania's technological contribution also in other domains. We could say we are at the beginning of a long road".

Meets Argentine President

AU2611211890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2010 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest [place-name as received], ROMPRES, 26/11/1990—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman had a first round of official talks with President Carlos Saul Menem, at the seat of the Argentine Government.

The discussions had an auspicious start, in a tenor of natural optimism, between two politicians reciprocating cordial feelings, said Argentine's president at the end of the meeting.

In his turn, Mr. Petre Roman showed that the two sides laid particular stress on economic problems, as the two countries had both embarked on the transition from state monopoly to an economy based on free initiative.

In Romania, said the prime minister, there are sectors that may take a jump forward with an injection of foreign investments, while at the same time, we can offer the technical expertise to turn to a better account some of Argentine's natural resources. He specifically referred

to shipbuilding of various tonnage, fish breeding, utility car and automobile manufacturing, copper mining in Argentine with Romanian technical assistance.

Holds Talks, Departs for Germany

AU2711201390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest [place-name as received], ROMPRES 27/11/1990—The Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman met, Tuesday morning, 27 November, Argentine businessmen with whom he tackled a wide range of aspects concerning the short and long term prospects of the economic and commercial relations between Romania and Argentine.

On the same day, at the San Martin Palace in Buenos Aires, the two sides signed three agreements: for economic and commercial cooperation, for peaceful uses of nuclear power and for cultural exchanges.

Later in the afternoon, the Romanian premier left Argentina for Germany where he is expected on an official visit at the invitation of Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Additional Reportage on Visit

WA2811123790

For reportage on Prime Minister Petre Roman to Latin America, including stopovers and speeches in Uruguay and Argentina, please see the respective country sections of the 27 November Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Iliescu on Paris Summit, Domestic Issues

AU2711200890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/11/1990—The CSCE meeting in Paris was an important event of the continental political life that changes Europe's political figure, a crucial moment in the transformation of the diverging relations among states, assessed Romanian President Ion Iliescu in a news conference.

Referring to the documents signed in Paris, the president assessed that the conventional weapons treaty "is a unique document in mankind's history" which establishes ceilings for weapons and measures of disarmament. The treaty, as well as the declaration on nonrecourse to force prefigured the conference itself, which marked the overcoming of the bloc logic in the mapping out and course of the political life in our continent.

As for the final document, the Paris Charter, it sanctions the burial of the cold war and the opening of a new era in the European policy.

As to the institutionalization of the CSCE process, the president said, everybody noted a proposal and showed readiness to support a body in Bucharest to avert conflicts.

The human rights, formerly the third basket of the CSCE, has become in the Paris Charter the joint platform for the continent's country and as regards the minorities' issues, the drafting was discussed of a code of all-European norms concerning the national minorities' rights.

Special stress was laid on the economic relations and on supporting the transition to the market economy in the Eastern countries, the Romanian head of state said.

The East-European countries' stability was assessed in Paris as a fundamental issue of Europe's stability, Ion Iliescu showed.

Referring to the situation in Romania, the president stressed—striking a comparison with the other East-European countries—that in eleven months Romania has marked remarkable progress both in the political transformations and in the other domains.

'Romanians' Community in Yugoslavia' Set Up

AU2711181890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1703 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/11/1990—In the locality of Kustilj nearby Vrsac the founding meeting of the Romanians' Community in Yugoslavia was held on November 25, 1990.

According to its status the organization will mainly aim at preserving and cultivating the language, customs, music, folklore and ethnographic values of the Romanian nationality.

The Romanians' Community in Yugoslavia will insist on an adequate representation to the Assembly of Vojvodina, of Serbia and of SFR Yugoslavia.

Pavel Gataiantu, editor at the Romanian section of the Novi Sad Radio and Television, was elected chairman of the organization's council.

The meeting was attended and addressed by Romania's ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Relations With Holy See Resumed; Nuncio Arrives

AU2311150190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1211 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—Monsignor John Bukowski, Papal Nuncio, who arrived Thursday, 22 November, at Bucharest, is soon to hand in his credentials as apostolic nuncio of the Holy See to Romania.

Romania and the Holy See announced the resumption of their diplomatic relations in communiques issued at Bucharest and the Vatican, on 15 May, 1990.

Romania's appointed ambassador to the Holy See, Mr. Dan Lazarescu, has already been confirmed.

Joint Economic Commission Session Held in Jordan

AU2611171490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1537 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest [place-name as received], ROMPRES, 26/11/1990—The session of the Joint Romanian-Jordanian Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation opened in Amman. The current stage and ways of expanding and diversifying commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, primarily by direct cooperation among economic agents in the two countries, are analyzed. The chairman of the commission for Romania met the minister of industry and trade, Dr. Ziyad Fariz, and executives of major Jordanian companies.

Statistics on Foreign Investment Reported

AU2711204290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2109 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/11/1990—According to the Romanian agency for promoting foreign investments, on 30 October 1990, there were 570 companies with foreign capital approved or endorsed in Romania, with a total subscribed capital of 2,267,000,000 lei, the total contribution (cash and goods) of the foreign partners being of about 70 million U.S. dollars. The foreign investors come from more than 50 countries—60 percent of them from Western Europe, (Holland, Germany, Switzerland at the top), 20 percent from the United States and another 12 percent from the Middle East.

The investments share the following sectors: export-import operations (539 companies), services (540 companies, 466 of which for home trade services), tourism (229), transport (194), catering (160 companies). Foreign capital is invested in 104 producing companies.

PDM Views PSM as 'Case of Communist Forgery'

AU2711191390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1839 GMT 27 Nov 90

["Political Life: 'The Creation of the Socialist Party of Labour—a Typically Communist Manoeuvre'—Says the Democratic Party of Labour"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/11/1990—In a note addressed to the Bucharest Municipal Court, members of the initiatory and organisational committee of the Democratic Party of Labour (PDM), founded in March 1990, express their stupefaction at the pretense of a group of former members of the PDM to change the name of their party into "Socialist Party of Labour" [PSM], at the recently concluded city conference.

The note shows that the creation of the so-called Socialist Party of Labour is a typical case of communist forgery, in total contradiction with the basic principles of both the PDM and the former RCP (Romanian Communist Party) [PCR].

PNT-cd To Stage Bucharest Meeting 30 Nov

AU2311145790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1214 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—The leadership of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd] decided to stage a meeting in Bucharest's Revolution Square on November 30 to mark December 1, 1918 when the great Romania was created as well as the country's National Day according to a decision made by the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] after the December 1989 revolution. As a ROMPRES release shows, the aforesaid party adopted that decision during an enlarged meeting it held at its central headquarters.

On the same occasion, it was decided that a proposal be advanced to the capital city mayor according to which the present Republic Street be named after great politician Iuliu Maniu (1873-1953) twice a leader of the former National Peasant Party and prime minister of Romania' during the threefold government of that party as well as one of the promoters of Transylvania's union with the motherland.

Civic Alliance Stages Protest Rally in Vilcea

AU2711200990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/11/1990—[The] Rimnicu Vilcea County branch of the Civic Alliance staged Tuesday, November 27, a rally of protest. The participants chanted antigovernmental and anticommunist slogans, slogans against Romania's president and a number of institutions. Those who took the floor, among whom representatives of the Rimnicu Vilcea branch of the National Liberal Party, criticised the government policy of price liberalization in the absence of social protection and the measures adopted by the government for the passage to the market economy. Public order was observed during the rally.

Deputies' Assembly Holds Session 26 Nov

Black Marketeering, Issues Discussed

AU2611212090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1939 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/11/1990—In the Monday, November 26 session of the Assembly of Deputies, a number of members voiced their discontent with the "fresh distortions, calumnies or lies" published by some Romanian newspapers, and with flagrant black marketeering and sabotage actions found out of late. The Parliament was asked to consider as soon as possible severe laws that should put an end to such extremely grievous deeds. Some other deputies summoned the government once again on the way certain economic reforms were implemented, and on unduly stopping land reclamation investments in certain zones of the country.

In the same session, the deputies approved the reports of the commissions for mediating on the divergencies on the draft statute of the aeronautical staff of Romania's Air Forces on the bill for modifying Law 4/1981 on communal administration.

After itemized discussions, the Assembly of Deputies approved the law on extending the provisions of Decree-Law 118/1990 to the people deported after 23 August 1944. The new normative act refers to the rehabilitation of the people deported to forced labour after 23 August 1944 and the restoration of their rights, which was not provided by the mentioned decree-law. The bill has in view a great number of German nationals who, after 23 August 1944 were deported to the Soviet Union and contributed to the reconstruction of that country until 1950.

General discussions followed of the bill on the organization and functioning of ministries.

Tuesday, November 27, Romania's Parliament (the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies) will hold a session to commemorate 50 years since the great historian Nicolae Iorga and the great economist Virgil Madgearu were assassinated.

Draft Law Discussed 27 Nov

AU2711182090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1710 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/11/1990—On Tuesday, the Assembly of Deputies continued its proceedings in plenum discussing the draft law on the organization and operation of ministries and validating 22 of the 44 articles of the respective normative act.

The new bill essentially stipulates that ministries are central bodies of executive power which, according to the law, are in charge of the public administration of the areas of activity under their subordination. According to the draft, the ministers are responsible for the activity of their ministries before the government and, as members of the executive, before the country's Parliament.

Noteworthy is the fact that the organization and operation of the Ministry of National Defence and of the Ministry of the Interior are not covered by the respective normative act owing to the specific of their activity. Regulations on these two central bodies of executive power will be stipulated by other special laws soon to be discussed by Parliament.

The proceedings of the plenum of the Assembly of Deputies shall be resumed on Thursday morning.

Iliescu Meets With Main Political Leaders

AU2611211590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2012 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/11/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu met Monday, November 26, at Cotroceni Palace, with the leaders of the main political parties, of the parliamentary groups and the bureaus of the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies.

The interview, that has become traditional in Romania's new democratic life, had two aims in view: an account by the president concerning the participation of Romania in the Paris Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and discussions on the program to celebrate Romania's National Day for the first time on December 1, a moment that should become "an occasion of concord" for the whole nation, as President Iliescu emphasized.

These two subjects are of interest in rendering the faithful image of today's Romania, that of a country on the irreversible way of dignity and democracy.

18-Month Limit Placed on Drafting New Constitution

AU2411183190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—A number of points about the stage reached in the elaboration of Romania's new Constitution were made on Friday by Mr. Antonie Iorgovan, senator, chairman of the parliamentary commission set up to this end. He spoke at the end of the international seminar held in Bucharest on constitutional mutations and perspectives in Eastern Europe.

In keeping with the rules adopted the elaboration of the Constitution comprises two stages, said the senator. The first has in view the working out of the structures and theses in principle that are to be submitted for debate and approval to the constituent assembly. This is the stage we are in at present. Until 1 December the drafted material is to be analyzed by the bureaus of the two chambers. Between 1 and 10 December we will finalized these theses, and after 10 December we will submit them to the Constituent Assembly—that is to every parliamentarian—a moment which will mark the beginning of public debates.

I would like to stress that the entire process of working out the draft constitution must not exceed 18 months from the date the Constituent Assembly was set up, that is 11 July. We hope that the Constitution will be adopted before the next summer vacation, so that on its basis we should adopt a new law of administration of the territory, the law of local autonomy to allow for the setting up of local bodies by the end of next year. As known, the Decree-Law No. 92/1990 stipulates that parliamentary elections be held within a year since the adoption of the Constitution. That means that a new election law will have to be drafted as well as the laws of state institutions. The first parliamentary elections on the basis of the new Constitution will be held in 1992. But I must underline that life requirements make Parliament adopt acts of an organic nature even in this pre-constitutional stage.

Government Meets With Trade Union Members

AU2611211690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2005 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/11/1990—Monday, 26 November, the talks between Ministers Ion Aurel Stoica, Catalin Zamfir, Mihai Zisu and the representatives of the main Romanian trade union confederations were resumed at the government's headquarters.

The talks started with a rationale by the ministers on the reduction of activities in some unprofitable and power consuming units, along December 1990 and the first quarter 1991, because of limited power reserves. A special attention was given to the social protection measures envisaged by the government.

Further on, the talks were centered on the text to be agreed on regarding the convention for the creation of the Government-Trade Union Joint Commission.

The next session will be held Tuesday, 4 December, 1990.

Need for Balanced Prices, Wages Expressed

AU2011114490 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Nov 90 p 1

[Stefan Dumitru article: "Lord, Wake Up the Parliament!"]

[Text] Is it possible that one does not see the poverty that has encompassed the entire country, from the top of Metropolitan Hill [the seat of the Parliament]? Can one not see the incompetence of the current government? What are you doing, Messrs. parliamentarians? What? Can you not be more clear? After all, you are directly responsible for the chaos that has hit the country! Do you want to have the people out in the streets? You will have them. The cold and hunger will get them out. Not all of us are black marketeers. At least 80 percent of us live off the wages we get. We elected you and we want clear answers. Do you not see that prices are increasing by 250-500 percent, while wages are only growing by 20 percent? Does the difference not strike you as too high? Do you not see that we will soon have to start selling things from our homes to feed ourselves? Or, God forbid, you want us all to become thieves! You should dismiss the government and put an end to the state-organized profiteering through this so-called price liberalization! You have a special body for this, hence you should carry out the necessary polls and make the appropriate decisions! Time is flying, tensions are building, and you should not wait until it is too late. It is better to maintain the social balance between wages and prices. What could be bought yesterday for 100 lei now costs 300 lei. The next stage after price liberalization will be a general strike, when the government will be forced to accept a doubling of wages, which will lead to higher costs, which in turn will lead to a new increase in prices, and then to a new strike and new prices. Where will this inflationary spiral end? All hardships will be borne by the man in the street. We all know the solution. It is not "liberalized" prices that we need, but the privatization of the productive sectors, with real competition which can finally bring up the commodity stocks to the level of the demand for them.

How can we trust a governmental team whose chief (Petre Roman) claims before the country and the world that a shirt can also be made out of 1.5 meters of linen instead of 3 meters—then its price would not have to go from 135 lei to 400 lei.

There is no longer time to wait. Act now; be a parliament, not a grand national assembly! Leave political colors aside and once more become Romanians! The country demands this from you!

PNT-cd, PNL Motion on Housing Viewed

AU2711213690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2158 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/11/1990—The Bureau of the Assembly of Deputies was forwarded a motion referring to "the alternative of the opposition in the dwellings issue." The motion considers "the dwellings built during the communist dictatorship with funds allotted from the state budget to be public heritage." It consequently makes the proposal for the measures to be suspended, deriving from the government resolution stating that the dwellings owed by state should be sold to the people living in them. The motion says if those living in state-owned dwellings want to become their owners they are going to offer the state a part of the bonds that should be given to them according to law 15 on 7 August 1990, being the equivalent of the sum due for the dwelling.

The motion is signed by the Parliamentary Groups of the National Liberal Party [PNL], the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd], by the Ecological Group.

Army Group Protests Officers' Dismissals

AU2211160590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1339 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/11/1990—In its today's issue, the newspaper "ROMANIA LIBERA" runs a statement by CADA (The Committee of Action for the Democratization of the Army) whereby it lodges a protest against the dismissal of CADA members from the Army, which it terms as "an act of amazing ignoration of the most elementary human rights." Consequently, the statement shows, "CADA demands the immediate resignation of the decisionmakers in the Army who are responsible for that situation," as well as "the reactivation of the officers who were asked to retire."

Most Serbian Parties Call Off Election Boycott

LD2711153290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] The Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove—SPO] and most of the opposition parties in Serbia are, after all, participating in the elections on 9 December.

With its acceptance of the amendments to the electoral law, the Serbian Assembly has fulfilled most of the demands of the opposition, which no longer has reason to boycott the elections.

This was stated today at a news conference by the representatives of the SPO, the Liberal and Radical Parties, the Democratic Forum, New Democracy-Movement for Serbia, and some other parties. Although they are not satisfied because the Assembly did not accept the proposal to postpone the elections—at least for a few days—and because the citizens of Serbia who live abroad will not be able to vote, the opposition believes that the assembly has made a great step forward, and that now the opposition is making one as well.

As Vuk Draskovic said, Serbia must do everything to cease being the disgrace of Europe. Some smaller parties, like the Old Radical Party, are sticking to their decision to boycott the elections and are angry with other parties of the opposition because, allegedly, they have violated agreements. The Democratic Party, which is also one of the favorites, has intimated that it will participate in the elections, while a decision by the Alliance of Reformist Forces [Savez Reformskih Snaga—SRS] will be known during the day.

The opposition has also cancelled the protest meeting which was to have been held on 3 December.

Some Demands Still Remain

AU2711215390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Despite the fact that the Serbian Assembly has only partially accepted our demands and has done so in an extremely unsatisfactory way, we have decided to run in the elections on 9 December. This was said in the public announcement issued this evening by the remaining nine opposition parties.

The announcement goes on to say the following: We protest because our key request—that it be made possible for the workers temporarily working abroad to vote in the elections—has not been accepted. We also protest because the Assembly delegates failed to discuss the demand that the highest officials in Serbia should resign.

The nine opposition parties are also of the opinion that the Assembly has violated the Law on Elections by arbitrarily reducing the period of time between the registration of the candidates for deputies and the election day from the 15 days established by regulations to 10 days.

The following parties have signed the announcement issued this evening: The Democratic Party, the Democratic Freedom Party, the People's Peasant Party, the Alliance of Reform Forces for Serbia, the Party of National Renewal, the Social Justice Party, the Party of the Serbian Peasants Alliance, the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, and the Party of Independent Businessmen and Peasants.

Opposition Divided Over Boycott

AU2711191290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] At the news conference held at the Hotel Jugoslavija, eight opposition parties of the national bloc announced that they will run in the elections after the Serbian Assembly had adopted the amendments to the electoral law according to which all electoral bodies will be multiparty bodies. Because it has not been made possible for our citizens abroad to vote and because the elections will not be postponed, three parties are sticking to their decision to boycott the elections. The protest meeting called for 3 December has been called off. Here is report by Nebojsa Spajic:

[Spajic] The following parties will run in the elections: The Serbian Renewal Movement, New Democracy, the People's Radical Party, the Democratic Forum, the Liberal Party, the People's Party, the Serbian Royalist Bloc, and the Party of Independent Businessmen and Craftsmen. The parties who will boycott the elections are the following: the Old Radical Party, the Democratic Freedom Party, and the Democratic Party Davidovic-Grol. Although everybody waited for them for about half an hour, the representatives of the Democratic Party failed to appear at this news conference.

The explanation of the parties which will run in the elections can be reduced to the words of Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, who said that the opposition will certainly be handicapped by the fact that there will be no voting abroad and because elections will not be postponed. He added the following:

[Begin Draskovic recording] (?Respecting) the fact that the delegates of the Serbian Assembly have made a great effort to take a step forward toward reason, the Serbian Renewal Movement replies that, regardless of this handicap I spoke about, it will also take a step toward reason and run in the elections on 9 December. [end recording]

[Spajic] He called on the ruling party to behave nobly and honorably until the elections so as to prevent possible unrest.

Vuk Draskovic announced that criminal charges have been filed against Belgrade Television, POLITIKA and its director Zivorad Minovic, POLITIKA EKSPRES and its editor Slobodan Jovanovic, as well as against a group of journalists of the POLITIKA house. Requests have been filed for POLITIKA to pay 10 million dinars and POLITIKA EKSPRES 5 million dinars, because of the

damage these newspapers have done to the Serbian Renewal Movement. In case the practice of carrying unobjective information continues, Predrag Vuletic of the Liberal Party said, demonstrations will be organized in front of the POLITIKA and Belgrade Television buildings.

Let us also quote one more thing said at this meeting. Janko Ducic of the People's Radical Party said that the adoption of the amendments is a victory for the opposition.

The presidents of the parties which will stick to their boycotts explained their decision by saying that even now these elections cannot be regular. In reply to this Draskovic said that that after the decision to boycott the elections was made we were on the verge of a civil war and that it has now been avoided. He also said that giving up the elections at this moment could be interpreted as wanting to gain power through undemocratic means.

Foreign Observers To Monitor Vote

AU2811100590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 90 p 6

[T. Vujic report: "Foreign Observers Can Monitor Elections in Serbia"]

[Excerpt] The republican Electoral Commission has endorsed amendments to instructions on implementing the Law on Electing People's Deputies and the Law on Electing the President of the Republic.

Thus, the work of the organs responsible for carrying out the elections can be followed by authorized representatives of international organizations and other institutions from foreign states who are participants in the CSCE talks and who want to follow the proceedings of the elections for people's deputies and the elections for the republican president. [passage omitted]

Rules for Serbia's Multiparty Elections Explained

AU2811095190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 90 p 9

[Stana Ristic report: "How We Will Vote"]

[Excerpts] There are 28 days until the first postwar multiparty elections. The election contest has to a great extent already begun among parties, so the time has come to say how the voting will look in practical terms. For example, what will the voting slip look like? How many polling stations will there be? Does one only need an identity card to vote, or will something else be needed? When will the results of the voting be announced....?

The first round of elections will be held on Sunday 9 December. Deputies for the Assembly of Serbia and the president of the Republic of Serbia will be elected. A total of 250 deputies will be elected to the Assembly. Of this number, 56 will be from Vojvodina, 34 from Kosovo, and 160 from Serbia proper. The composition of the republican Electoral Commission and the composition of the electoral commissions in constituencies will be printed in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, Zoran Djumic, head of information of the republican Electoral Commission, says. [passage omitted]

How Will Votes Be Cast?

A vote is cast by circling the number that appears in front of the name of the candidate on the voting slip. One can choose, or circle, the number in front of only one candidate on the slip. The names of candidates will be written in alphabetical order on the voting slip, Djumic says. [passage omitted]

These are free elections so no one has the right to prevent a citizen from voting, or to force them to vote. This is important because the voting in a constituency is valid only if more than 50 percent of those voters registered on the voters lists actually go to the polls.

Results—48 Hours After the Polling Stations Close

According to Zoran Djumic, voters lists will be compiled on the 1 December, that is eight days before the elections, and they must then be submitted to the electoral commissions. The communal organ of administration responsible for processing voters lists is responsible for their correctness and precision.

All preparations for the elections should be completed two days, or 48 hours, before the elections. This marks the beginning of the period of "silence" or the end of promotion campaigns for the parties and candidates. [passage omitted]

The actual voting will last from 0700 [0600 GMT] until 1900 on Sunday, 9 December, as we have said. Voters can vote by showing their identification cards.

Every voter will receive two voting slips, one for the election of the deputy from their constituency and the other for the election of the president of the republic.

Vote counting and the confirmation of the results will begin when the polling stations close at 1900. The voting committee will establish how many voters cast votes and how many voting slips were used. Both these numbers must tally. The number of unused slips should tally with the number of those who did not go to the polls, and they will be put to one side. According to Djumic, invalid slips will be put to one side in a special envelop. Counting the number of valid slips will establish how many votes were won by each candidate. The voting committees will submit all election material to the election commission. This commission is duty-bound to establish and announce the results for the voting within 48 hours at most. All the results for all deputies in Serbia, as well as the results of voting for the president of the republic, will be announced by the republican electoral commission.

Who Goes Into the Second Round?

Processing the results will be done by hand or with the aid of computers where this is possible. The Statistics Institute of Serbia will process and announce the statistical data concerning the elections.

Everything that has been said so far relates to the first round of voting. The second round will be held on 23 December.

If a candidate for deputy wins more than 50 percent of the votes of those who went to the polls and if more than 50 percent of the electorate have voted, this candidate is elected in the first round. The elections for deputy in this constituency are then over. However, since there will be several candidates on the voting slips, it is possible that no one will win the necessary majority of votes. In this case, a second round of voting for deputy in this constituency will be held. The list will contain the two candidates who received the most votes in the first round. However, the highest number of votes could be the same for two or more candidates, so in this case, all of them will be on the list for the second round of voting. [passage omitted]

In the second round of voting, one of the candidates must receive the majority of votes cast by the voters. A candidate is elected if more than 50 percent of the registered electorate went to the polls. If, however, it happens that no candidate wins the aforementioned majority of votes in the second round, then a third round of voting will be held in this constituency and the voting will be repeated until a candidate is chosen.

The same rules apply to the election of the president of the republic. [passage omitted]

Voters To Vote With Passports

AU2811095790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 90 p 3

["M.T."-signed report: "Voting With a Passport"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—On 9 December, it will be possible to vote in Serbia using a passport as identification. This is what Zoran Djumic, information chief of the republican Electoral Commission, told journalists yesterday. He also cited the new information that there will be 9,340 polling stations in 250 constituencies. This is not yet the final number because all communes have not informed the republican Electoral Commission about their polling stations. So far, 6,383,542 voters have registered. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Financing the Parties

All registered parties in Serbia will be able to pay for the costs of their electoral activities from finances provided by the republican budget "in an amount which corresponds to the level of the average net personal income paid in the economy of the Republic of Serbia in the month of October multiplied by 15."

This is the essence of the proposed law on the participation of the republic in financing the activities of political organizations which was endorsed at yesterday's session of the Executive Council of Serbia and submitted to the republican Assembly so that it can be adopted on time. As explained, it has been borne in mind that this law creates conditions for multiparty elections to be carried out in the republic.

New Communist Party of Yugoslavia Presents Plan

AU2211202690

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0930 GMT on 22 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1600 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the New Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts 30 minutes and features Branko Kitanovic, party general secretary, speaking about the party's program. He says the party's "philosophy and policy are based on scientific socialism which was developed by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, on the results of the further development of socialism in the world, and on the achievements of the other progressive movements, teachings, ideas, and thoughts of the modern age. The party was founded on 30 June 1990 in Belgrade. It has several tens of thousands of members in all republics and provinces." He says that the party is financed from contributions from its members and does not receive any kind of help from the country or from people abroad.

He goes on to say that the party's program and aims are essentially different to the program and aims of the former League of Communists which the party considers to have betrayed the real interests of socialism. The party does however acknowledge the achievements of the peoples of Yugoslavia in the postwar period.

As regards the economy, Kitanovic says: "We completely reject the program of the government of Ante Markovic. This program has already completely failed." He then goes on to list this program's shortcomings as his party sees them and concludes by expressing the opinion that Ante Markovic's government should resign.

In speaking about the future setup of Yugoslavia, Kitanovic says: "We think that Yugoslavia should be a unified indivisible federal socialist Yugoslavia and we are against a confederation in all its forms. We also think that Serbia should be a unified indivisible socialist republic. Kosovo is an inviolable part of a unified Serbia. Both peoples and ethnic minorities should have the same

rights, but ethnic minorities cannot create their own states on the territory of Serbia."

Kitanovic says further: "As regards interethnic relations, we are in favor of the brotherhood and unity of all our peoples and ethnic minorities. We are in favor of real cooperation between all our peoples." He then goes on to say that the party is against any change to the existing borders of Yugoslavia, as well as to the inter-republican borders since this would lead to civil war.

In the second program, which lasts one hour, Cedomir Nesic, Vasilije Markovic, Vladimir Andrejev, Dragutin Vukicevic, and Branko Kitanovic answer questions put to them by an unidentified moderator. They expound further on the party's program and its economic program in particular.

Serbia's Milosevic Not Opposed to Reform Process

LD2711212290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1952 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Kragujevac, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic today rejected the accusations of the federal government that Serbia was against the economic reform.

Speaking today in Kragujevac, where he visited several of the leading repulican firms, Milosevic said that Serbia was forced to use all legal means to avoid the consequences of the wrong economic policy waged on the federal level.

The leader of the most populous Yugoslav republic said that Serbia acted openly out of a wish to make it clear to everyone that it would "thwart the introduction of internal colonialism inside Yugoslavia."

Milosevic called the criticism of Serbia an inversion of these. In his words, the justified criticism of the federal government's economic program is qualified in these accusations as Serbia's opposition to economic reform.

The federal government in early November accused Serbia, but also Croatia and Slovenia, of wishing to topple the federal government and halt the changes which it had (?launched).

According to the federal government, Serbia is doing this by "preventing the functioning of a unified market and introducing various barriers." Croatia is doing this by "halting the transformation of ownership" and Slovenia "by suspending federal laws," while everyone is "complaining about the others taking advantage of them."

The federal government has also launched proceedings for establishing the constitutionality of several regulations and laws which Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia have passed.

Inappropriate comments, such as that Serbia did not respect the constitution and was disturbing the unity of the Yugoslav market, concealed "an endeavor for further holding the Serbian economy in an unequal position," Milosevic said today.

Anti-Albanian Policies in Kosovo Alleged, Viewed

AU2311142690 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 18 Nov 90 pp 1, 6

[Emin Azemi and Blerim Reka report: "When Will the Emigrants Return to Kosovo?"]

[Text] Pristina, 17 Nov—Kosovo, with its disordered political, economic, and social life, is now undergoing a further trauma: the emigration of Albanians. Although this problem dates back a long time, it seems to have intensified recently. Families are losing their members at a time when Kosovo lacks the necessary mechanisms to halt this social and political phenomenon. Moreover, those who put themselves forward as the authors of the "rule-of-law state" see no reason to consider this problem. This is because "Serbian and Montenegrin emigration" has been used as a pretext for military and police intervention in Kosovo and among the Albanians. However, reality is on our side. The fact that every Saturday, 12 or 13 buses full of Albanians leave Pristina alone [line missing] of Western Europe illustrates a fact which emerged from an official Swiss statement in Berne concerning Albanians' increasingly frequent requests for political asylum in Switzerland. According to this statement, 28,493 foreign citizens asked for political asylum in Switzerland in the first 10 months of this year, among them 3,989 Albanians from Yugoslavia. According to Swiss sources, this figure shows that Albanians are the third largest group of foreign citizens asking for political asylum in Switzerland, immediately after the Turks and Lebanese.

Among the activities of the opposition parties in Kosovo, we may single out the Kosovo Democratic Alliance's [DSK] news conference and the formation of the Initiating Council of the Kosovo Parliamentary Party [Partia Parlamentare e Kosoves—PPK]. At its regular news conference last Friday [16 November], the DSK once again raised its long-standing demands for the restoration of the organs of the state in Kosovo and the media: Pristina Radio and Television, and RILINDJA. Another demand heard at the news conference was for the lifting of the criminal proceedings against the Kosovo Assembly delegates and the release of the two members of the Kosovo Executive Council. Meanwhile, concerning dismissals from work, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the Serbian state is continuing with new sackings in spite of our demands to an end to them. The most recent case, he said, was at the Titova Mitrovica Medical Center, where 10 Albanian doctors have been suspended. The damage this is doing to the Kosovo economy is not merely local; it is also harming the economy of Serbia and Yugoslavia.... Rugova said that everybody should think about this, because Yugoslavia

is behaving nonchalantly toward this problem, along the lines of "This is happening down there in Kosovo, and has nothing to do with us."

The Federal Assembly's Anti-Parliamentary Behavior Continues

We also strongly condemn the closing of private businesses in Kosovo, he said, which has recently become a large-scale phenomenon among us. This is an economic and political crime, all the more so when it contradicts all the principles and reforms so loudly proclaimed by Ante Markovic. The ruin of Bankkos is a typical example of how the Serbian Government, usurping the federal government, is trying to totally destroy the Kosovo economy. However, Rugova said, we will not in the future deposit our money in other banks either, but will found our private banks in Kosovo when the law permits. This too is a sign that these are the last coaches of the train of Bolshevik economic logic.

Talking about the free elections in Macedonia, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the DSK supports free and democratic elections, but we protest against the parties of the National Bloc which, because of their lack of success, have risen up against the Albanians and do not wish to realize that Albanians live there and have the democratic right to vote; the parties of the Macedonian National Bloc must reconcile themselves to this. These parties have also risen up against the Party of Democratic Prosperity, and this is not at all in accordance with political fair play. These political parties have used tasteless political slogans and chauvinist slogans against the Albanians, and want at all costs to cause interethnic conflict in western Macedonia to create for themselves a pretext for other possible steps. We tell them that they must think politically to win over their people, and not attack others.

We also protest, Rugova then said, against the financial discrimination against Albanian teachers in Kosovo. The aim of this is to hamper the Albanian-language teaching process. Rugova also protested the frequent cases of teachers being detained for so-called "informative discussions."

The most recent meeting of the Federal Assembly was also a topic of discussion at this news conference, and Ibrahim Rugova said that its failure to include on the agenda the resolution of the Albanian delegates to this assembly was a typical example of how judicial and constitutional standards have plunged to a nonexistent level and how the Federal Assembly is indirectly supporting this situation in Kosovo. This was an act of anti-parliamentary behavior, Rugova said. On this occasion too, he said, we reiterate our stand that we favor free elections in Kosovo, while we ask the people even still to be patient until we find a political and democratic solution for Kosovo, because a democratic solution of problems is a universal idea; we do not want to abandon this idea which is now dominant and is leading toward a democratic and integrated Europe, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova concluded.

As usual, this was followed at the news conference by journalists' questions. One question concerned how Rugova would comment on Markovic's report and especially that part of it in which he said that the problem of Kosovo must be solved solely by democratic means and with the holding of free elections in Kosovo also. Rugova said that the phrase according to which the problem of Kosovo must be solved by democratic means, used by Markovic too, must be supported by deeds. We support this, he said, because we in the DSK have maintained such a stand from the start. Meanwhile, Rugova answered another question that mentioned rumors that Markovic is supposedly contacting the Kosovo Alternative to form a coalition, saying that we have never had any contact with Markovic, apart from the meeting with Pregl last month, in which representatives of the Kosovo Alternative also took part. There can be no question here of any kind of coalition, either with Markovic or with other parties in Yugoslavia.

Jusuf Buxhovi, secretary, asked how he would comment on a BORBA article alleging that during the visit of Vogel and the German Bundestag delegation he had said that the DSK should stand in Serbia's free elections. Buxhovi said that Vogel, in his statement to the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE newspapers, had denied that the Bundestag delegation had suggested to the DSK that it should take part in the Serbian elections. In this statement, Vogel also said that they were in favor of a democratic climate in Yugoslavia, and that the Albanians will decide their own destiny, Buxhovi concluded, commenting on Vogel's statement.

Kosovo's Goal—Integration in Europe

On 15 November, Kosovo gained another political party. This is the PPK, which held its founding assembly and elected its presidium with Veton Surroi as chairman. At the beginning of the meeting, those present held one minute's silence in honor of the victims of the Serbian police state, in the hope, it was said, that this would be the last time that a minute's silence would be held for such cases. This party's program statement states that the party is being formed to help through its work and activities to achieve a real parliamentary democracy and civil society in Kosovo. The PPK (this party's abbreviation) relies on the work done so far by the Kosovo Youth Parliament, which was one of the main pillars of Kosovo's democratic movement. This party, the program further states, is committed to political pluralism and the exercise of the civil rights formulated in the civil and liberal legacy of the two last centuries of Western world civilization; it proclaims and insists on the political, legal, and cultural status of Kosovo within the framework of the new Yugoslav community, and believes that Yugoslavia is viable as a multinational and multicultural community only if it is created with respect for the will

of the community expressed through democratic parliaments. Therefore, Yugoslavia can only exist as such if it considers the interests of the citizens of Kosovo, like those of other citizens of the country. The PPK is committed to a new regional community in the southwest Balkans with the intention that Kosovo, Macedonia, northern Greece, and northern and southern Albania should accelerate their political, economic, and cultural communication on the basis of mutual interests, and in this way contribute to the new architecture of Europe and the easing of historically fraught relations in the Balkans. The PPK believes that Kosovo's goal is integration into Europe, and that this integration can only be achieved through the construction of a system of European values in Kosovo. The same program further states that this party considers that the optimal choice is the demilitarization of Yugoslavia within a realistic period of time and under the conditions of global detente. During the period of demilitarization, we consider it necessary that the qualitative participation of Kosovo citizens in military life should be proportionate to their representation in numbers, and this means educational encouragement to create a proportional representation among commanding cadres, at the same time creating conditions to enable Kosovo citizens to perform their military service in Kosovo.

The PPK is also committed to an economic system based on market forces. It also considers exiles, regardless of their reasons for leaving their birthplace, to be integral members of the Kosovo community. This party is also committed to removing every obstacle to their return which has been raised out of political motives, and to creating incentives for those who wish to return home. The program concludes by stating that this party devotes special attention to the necessary political consensus among different political subjects in Kosovo as a way toward the progress of Kosovo society. In principle, this party does not rule out a coalition with other parties, the PPK's statement concludes.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Kosovo Completes the Concept of a United Europe

At its founding meeting, the PPK addressed a letter to the CSCE which states among other things that Kosovo is not represented in the delegation of the Yugoslav state which will take part in the CSCE in Paris. The other parts of Yugoslavia will each send a representative in the state delegation, while once again Kosovo has been detached from Yugoslavia.

If Yugoslavia does not accept Kosovo as a relevant factor, without which the new democratic state community of Yugoslavia cannot be created, it must at least be realized that Kosovo is a factor without which European cooperation and security can neither be imagined nor achieved.

Kosovo today is the most destabilizing point in the Balkans and Europe. Kosovo is the place which most undermines the concept of a united Europe and European cooperation. Kosovo today is the phenomenon which most threatens European security and peace.

For this reason, Kosovo will be present the whole time at Paris (whether Yugoslavia likes it or not). The letter ends with the motto: For Europe in Kosovo, the PPK. Pristina, 15 November 1990.

VMRO-DPMNE Leading in Macedonian Vote

AU2611154690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] After yesterday's revoting in Macedonia, VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization]-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [DPMNE] already considers itself the winner. It is thought that it has won the most seats in parliament and that it will dictate conditions for a coalition with other parties. Boris Djordjioski has the details:

[Begin Djordjioski recording] At a news conference which has just finished, representatives of VMRO-DPMNE stressed that their party has won 29 deputy seats, that they are leading in seven other constituencies, and that they will certainly win 36 of the total of 120 seats in the future Macedonian parliament.

VMRO members do not conceal their satisfaction with this unexpected electoral win. However, since they will nevertheless not win the necessary majority in the Macedonian parliament, they are thinking about a coalition, but not as a party which will dictate conditions to other parties, and not as a party in opposition. The only thing is that a coalition with the Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity is out of the question.

The first thing that VMRO will do when it comes to power, and it already sees itself as the victor, is to adopt a declaration on the sovereignty of the Macedonian state.

According to other unofficial figures, the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation won 27 deputy seats at yesterday's elections, the Alliance of Reform Forces of Macedonia won 14 seats, the Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity eight seats, and the Socialists six seats.

These figures should of course be viewed with caution, but it is worth mentioning that yesterday's voting will not produce the final result of the multiparty elections in the republic because the second round of voting is to take place in another 33 constituencies on 9 December, which could lead to a different balance of power at the end of the final round of voting.

In the press conference of the Macedonian Assembly, we are now waiting for representatives of the Electoral Commission with either a confirmation or a denial of the announced results. [end recording]

Prospects for Bosnia's 2d-Round Election Outlined

LD2711162290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1456 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo November 27 (TANJUG)—The second round of the multi-party elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be held on December 2 in 54 municipalities, as the republican Election Commission announced today.

The repeated balloting in 22 municipalities in the republic last Sunday [25 November], which was necessary because of irregularities in the first round of the elections on November 18, has not essentially altered the first-round outcome, as the republican election commission reported today.

The national parties—the Muslim Democratic Action Party, the Serbian Democratic Party and the Croatian Democratic Union—convincingly lead, with no major changes expected to be brought about by the second round of elections.

Croatian Democratic Union leader Stjepan Kljuic told a news conference today that the leaders of the national parties had already opened talks on the forming of a new republican government. Kljuic set out that priority will be given to the expertise of the future ministers and not only to an equal national representation in the new republican government.

The leader of the Croatian Democratic Union said that all personnel changes and new appointments in the republican authorities during the past six months will be re-considered. He warned that the new authorities would oppose "the putting up of the socially-owned property for sale."

Representatives of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina-Socialist Democratic Party, for their part, set out at a news conference held today that, despite their obvious election defeat, the communists were optimists. The communists above all fear the revanchism of the new authorities and their party has, therefore, decided to form a special fund for financing aiding individuals who might be left without a job because of their political activities.

The new multi-party parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina which is to be constituted on December 25 will have two chambers and a total of 230 members. Candidates of national parties have also carried off a convincing majority of votes in the first round of the elections for the republican Presidency, which will be made up of two representatives of each the largest nations in the republic—Muslims, Serbs and Croats—and one member who will represent all the other nations living in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Slovene Presidency Requested To Return Weapons

LD2711120090 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1855 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—The command of the Fifth Army area in Zagreb has forwarded to the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia a demand whereby the Republic of Slovenia should, by a specified deadline, pass on to the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] units the remaining weapons which the Slovene territorial defense has retained since the weapons transfer in May and June.

As stressed in its statement for the public, the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia rejected this demand during its last session. It also sent the SFRY Presidency a strong protest against this kind of attitude on the part of the command of the Fifth Army area because, the statement notes, "it encroaches on the constitutional and legal jurisdiction of the Republic of Slovenia."

At the same time the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia has again asked that the weapons transferred to JNA premises earlier this year be returned to the Slovene Territorial Defense Forces.

Since the command of the Fifth Army area is basing its demand on the SFRY Presidency decision on the transfer of the control and command of the territorial defence of the Republic of Slovenia—the statement for the public stresses in conclusion—the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia further demands that this decision be rescinded.

Jovic Addresses Views Crisis; Marks Republic Day

LD2711184590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Statment by Federal Presidency President Boris Jovic; place and date not given]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—This year's Republic Day is coming at the time when the country is at the turning point in its search for a democratic solution of the problem of a joint life for all Yugoslav nations. We believe a successful outcome of our constitutional and political crisis will be found through our legal institutions and democratic processes. We are all obliged to persevere on this course in a responsible and tolerant manner, so that the economic and social transformation can be carried out in Yugoslavia in keeping with the times in which we live and with interests of all our nations and citizens.

Accumulated problems and difficulties from the past give no one the right to denigrate and question everything positive from our history, including the achievements of the national liberation struggle and the decisions of the Antifascist Council of the National

Liberation of Yugoslavia, which lay the foundations for the new Yugoslavia based on the equality of all our nations and nationalities.

Today, when we are celebrating Republic Day, and, more importantly, when we are making key decisions about our future, we must be aware that respect for our history and its unquestionable achievements is not just owed to those who fought for Antifascist Council Yugoslavia and its postwar development, but is owed to all future generations.

I am deeply convinced that the breakup of our country is not in the interest of our nations, because that would have catastrophic consequences difficult to foresee. Breaches of the constitution and law, as well as many moves aimed at forcefully breaking up Yugoslavia and at denying its historical worth, lead to a deadlock which would benefit no one.

I am convinced that the majority of citizens in our country are, more than ever before, in the grip of apprehension and fear but are also full of hope that common sense, patience, and tolerance will prevail over passions and mistrust and that solutions for future coexistence and prosperity will be found in a peaceful and democratic manner.

At a time when Europe and the rest of the world pledge their support for a Yugoslavia united and successful in the process of democratization and overall economic transformation, we must muster enough commonsense and ability to overcome growing nationalism and separatism and worsening interethnic and inter-republic relations. For this we need tolerance and patience and also enhanced accountablility for all.

Unfortunately our present development difficulties and economic and social problems are not negligible. Prospects for resolving them will be all the more favorable if we concentrate on our common points, which are not inconsiderable. This will justify our optimism about our future and we shall have no reason to be ashamed before the world, before our nations and nationalities, or before the younger generation which wishes to lead a more peaceful, freer, and richer life.

With this in mind I send greetings to all our citizens on Republic Day.

Statistics Office Provides Import-Export Figures

LD2711132890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1225 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav economy has from January 1 through November 19 this year earned 12.81 billion dollars from commodity exports and services rendered for foreign partners, or 8.3 per cent more than in the same period last year, the Federal Statistics Office has announced.

Imports realized in the first ten-and-a-half months of this year cost Yugoslavia 15,616 million dollars, 28.9 per cent more than in the same period in 1989.

Exports of goods and services to the convertible-currency area were worth about ten billion dollars, 13.7 per cent more than in 1989, while clearing-payments area exports fell by 11.9 per cent.

Yugoslav exports were mostly made up of reproduction materials, ships, industrial and power production equipment, furniture, textiles and agricultural food products.

The bulk of the imports was made up of reproduction materials, machines and various equipment and consumer goods.

Reportage on Markovic Visit to Sweden

WA2711173790

For Yugoslav and Swedish reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Ante Markovic to Stockholm, including reports on his talks with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and a news conference, please see the Nordic Countries section of the 23 November West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.